

THE SCOTTISH
HISTORICAL REVIEW

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS LTD.

Parkside Works Edinburgh 9
36 Park Street London W1
312 Flinders Street Melbourne C1
302-304 Barclays Bank Building
Commissioner and Kruis Streets
Johannesburg

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS (CANADA) LTD.
91-93 Wellington Street West Toronto 1

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS
19 East 47th Street New York 17

SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE D'ÉDITIONS NELSON
97 rue Monge Paris 5

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume Thirty-Seventh



EDINBURGH
THOMAS NELSON & SONS, LTD.
1958

A
R
A
V
F
F
F
J
F
C
A
A
R
F
S
M
C
V

Contributors to this Volume

A. J. Aitken	J. R. Jones
Rev. W. J. Anderson	Alexander Law
A. E. Anton	Rev. Prof. J. S. McEwen
William Beattie	Hector McKechnie
Rev. J. C. Blackie	I. M. M. MacPhail
Prof. J. C. Brash	Rev. William Matheson
R. G. Cant	A. Montgomerie
J. S. Cummins	Prof. John M. Norris
Prof. W. Croft Dickinson	Prof. George S. Pryde
Gordon Donaldson	Prof. W. L. Renwick
Archibald A. M. Duncan	J. S. Ritchie
Annie I. Dunlop	George Shepperson
L. P. Elwell-Sutton	Grant G. Simpson
R. W. Feachem	W. Douglas Simpson
W. Ferguson	Kenneth Steer
Sir James Fergusson, Bart.	F. R. Stevenson
Ian Finlay	Prof. E. L. G. Stones
C. P. Finlayson	Prof. E. A. Thompson
James Hayes	A. E. Truckell
Prof. E. F. Jacob	

▼

I

st
ta
s
c
th
g
in
th
o
th
o
ta
a
h
o

w
T
fo
in

es
M
A

The Scottish Historical Review

VOL. XXXVII No. 123 APRIL 1958

Illustrations of Games by a Seventeenth Century Edinburgh Student

THE following notes are based on illustrations drawn by an Edinburgh student in his dictates taken down in the years 1672-73.

Before the establishment of professorial chairs in single specified subjects, 'lectures' were, in effect, periods for dictation during which the regent read out his own digest of some standard work on each of the various subjects of the curriculum.¹ The regent's dictates, copied down word for word by the students, thus formed the chief text-books of the course. A good teacher's personality probably exercised its fertilising influence mainly during the many periods of the curriculum that were allotted to declamation, disputation and the defence of theses; and evidence that the regents themselves regarded their 'dictates' or 'lectures' as a mechanical and routine part of their duties is to be found in their attempts to delegate the task of dictation to students, censured by the Town Council in an Act of 3 December 1628: 'that no Regent in any tyme heirefter caus his lessone be taught be any scoller be reiding of his notes.'²

The speed of dictation was leisurely enough to allow a neatly written book to be produced by the average student penman. This was of importance to the regent as well as to the student, for the delegates of the Town Council at their annual visitation in June were empowered 'to tak ane viewe of the haill scollers

¹ In defence of the regent, no single teacher could be expected to lecture *ex cathedra* throughout a four-year course covering Greek, Arithmetic, Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Astronomy and Geography with even the rudiments of Anatomy thrown in for good measure.

² A. Morgan, ed., *University of Edinburgh: Charters, etc., 1583-1858*, 121.

buikes'¹ to see if they had 'cairfullie attendit and writtin thair lessouns'. Any shortcomings in this respect were to be regarded as the Regent's responsibility, and, as usual in such general inspections, superficial neatness would be the most winning quality.

Expert penmen decorated their dictates with large initial capitals or even with borders and historiated initials much in the style of mediaeval manuscripts. These attempts at calligraphic embellishment may be said to represent the very tail end of a long tradition, and, like the work of mediaeval illustrators, the subjects are at times of historical importance.

The illustrations here reproduced² adorned the dictates written by Archibald Flint who graduated M.A. at Edinburgh University in 1673. He entered the University in 1669, but only two volumes of his dictates covering the Bachelor (3rd) and Magstrand (4th) years of his philosophy or arts course have survived.³ Both volumes have several historiated initials, and the title-pages bear ambitious decorative borders containing, in four panels, these illustrations of student games. Two historiated initials, one showing a regent (no doubt his own regent, James Pillans) delivering his dictates, and the other showing a man 'gunning', are also included in the illustration.⁴

Mediaeval universities generally concerned themselves only with the student's intellect, the body being regarded as a necessary evil.⁵ In Scotland, however, 'lawful' games of bodily exercise were at least tolerated even in the pre-Reformation foundations⁶; after the Reformation they were actively promoted by the General Assembly⁷; and in the newly founded university of Edinburgh play and recreation were recognised in the early official curriculum. Within ten years of its foundation, the University was allotted its own playing-field on the Burgh Muir,⁸ and there were official play days when the students

¹ A. Morgan, ed., *University of Edinburgh: Charters, etc., 1583-1858*, 107.

² By kind permission of Edinburgh University Library Committee.

³ Edinburgh University Library MSS. Dc. 6. 4-5.

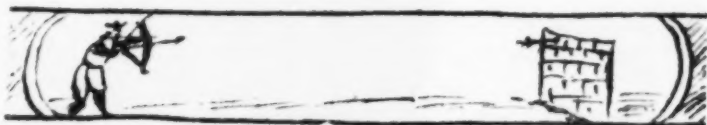
⁴ I am indebted to Mr J. B. Atkinson, Senior Photographic Technician, Edinburgh University Library, for his skill in making the composite photograph. Another initial showing an anatomy lecture in progress was reproduced in *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, ix (1953), 54.

⁵ Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (ed. Powicke and Emden, 1936), iii, 420.

⁶ *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club), ii, 41, 466.

⁷ James Melville at St. Andrews in 1574 writes that 'for archerie and goff, I haid bow, arrose, glub and bals, but nocht a purs for catchpull and tavern' (*Autobiography and Diary*, Wodrow Soc., 29-30).

⁸ 10 March 1591/2. *University of Edinburgh. Charters, etc.*, 99, 120-121.



w
o
d
w
a
b
s

o
b
c
in
v
fi
o
b
T
b
d
f
f

a
a
i
R
b
R
(
t
o
v
s
t

were taken out to their field by one of the regents for a period of supervised games. If, at times, the Town Council seemed determined to suppress some particular game, the reason given was usually that it was seducing students from their classes and studies, or that it was causing damage to University buildings, and not because exercise or recreation was considered bad in itself.

Billiards, for instance, the game shown in the topmost panel of our illustration, was condemned and ordered to be suppressed by the Town Council in an act of 1659,¹ mainly because of a certain enterprising tailor who had installed a 'bulyard board' in his house in Bell's Wynd, 'quherby the scholleris . . . are withdrawn from their studies in their goeing and comeing fra the Schoollis'. By 1704 billiards had crept back into the open again, and was the subject (together with handball and bowls) of an act designed to curb truancy among the students.² This time the Council's policy was more realistic. No general ban was applied to the game, but any student found playing it during the hours appointed for the meeting of classes was to be fined threepence for the first and second times 'and the double for the third'.³

Cotton, in *The Compleat Gamester*, 1674, gives a detailed account of the game of billiards as it was played at that period, and the illustration of the game on Cotton's title-page agrees in most respects with Flint's sketch. The omission of a centre pocket on the near side of Flint's table may be an oversight, but the game was still in process of development towards its present form and it is to be noted that in *The School of Recreation* (1710) the table has only three pockets, all on the one side. In Flint's sketch the table appears to be standing on a paved or tiled floor; and it is interesting to note that Cotton complains of wooden floors which sometimes became unsteady under the weight of the table, thus making local knowledge and the manipulation of loose boards more potent factors than pure skill. Flint's table is also placed to receive a good light from two windows.⁴

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1655-1665*, 131.

² *University of Edinburgh. Charters, etc.*, 157.

³ The dodging of classes in order to play billiards was not an unmitigated sin against good learning since the fines went to augment the scanty funds of the University Library.

⁴ When candle light had to be used play was slowed up to such an extent that three ends, instead of five by daylight, made up the usual game.

At this time only two balls were used in billiards (the 'carom' ball being a late eighteenth-century innovation) and Flint's sketch shows the two pieces of table equipment by which play was then diversified. These were a small arch called the 'port' and a peg called the 'king', about both of which various quaintly termed manoeuvres could be executed. Cotton writes: 'Neither is it amiss if you can make your adversary a Fornicator that is having put yourself a little way, and the other ball being hardlie through the port you put him back again, and it may be quite out of pass. . . . There is a great art in lying abscond, that is, to lie at bo-peep with your adversary.' The players in Flint's sketch are apparently 'playing bo-peep' round the 'king'. Both 'king' and 'port' were usually made of ivory. The 'cues', really maces of solid construction, were faced with ivory at the broad end—the one usually applied to the ball (as shown in the illustration) though the thin end also could be brought into play. Cotton describes the two techniques: 'When you strike a long stroke hold your stick nearly between your two forefingers and your thumb. . . . If you lie close use the small end of the stick.' With the use of maces went the upright stance depicted in the sketch. It was in fact an infringement to lay the hand on the table or even to let the sleeve drag upon it in playing, 'as this is a cleanly pastime so there are laws or orders made against lolling, slovenly players that by their forfeitures they may be reduced to regularity and decency'.

We now turn to the game of tennis illustrated in the second panel. In 1596 the Town Council helped to erect a court inside the precincts of the University, paying a workman 'half-a-crown for half ane day to the colledge in helping up the catchpul'.¹ The term 'catchpul' may have covered both rackets and tennis courts, but there were certainly several tennis courts in the town at this date—the one 'oposit to the tron . . . of the hie street' probably being the nearest to the University. The Town Council put all of them out of bounds to students in an act of 3 December 1628,² but here again the Council was trying to curb absenteeism from classes and was not proscribing the game. Catchpuls are classed with taverns by James Melville,³ as places for which a well-lined purse was needed. There were charges for the use of the courts in the town, and no doubt

¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1589-1603*, 355, and Appendix xxviii.

² *University of Edinburgh. Charters, etc.*, 125.

³ *Supra*, p. 2, note 7.

there was betting too; the Town Council had sound reasons for trying to restrict the students to the University court where they could exercise themselves without danger either to purse or to morals.

While it is possible that not all the windows of the University were glazed in 1596,¹ when the Council erected the University catchpul, the official attitude to games in the College precincts was certainly less favourable at a later date. One of the 'Injunctions for the Janitor' in 1639² was that 'he must always attend the Colledge for saving the fabrick both in time of play and vacance'; and in 1704³ the Town Council complained that 'the fabricke of the Colledge is greatly damnified by students playing at rackets and handballs'. Handballs may include handcatch or fives, as distinct from racket catch or rackets both of which were played directly against a wall; but as the side walls entered into the strategy of tennis too, any of these games would endanger nearby windows and perhaps even cause some abrasion of the stonework since the balls used were hard and solid.

The net in the sketch is supported at the nearer end by a free-standing frame, apparently containing a drum around which the net could be wound when not in use and by which its height at the centre could be adjusted. The traditional height of the net was three feet at the centre and five feet at the ends; thus Flint has used some artistic licence in making the figures disproportionately big. The farther end of the net seems to be tied to a ring fixed to a wall. Both players conform pretty well to the canons of style laid down in an early nineteenth-century manual of the game.⁴ The one on the right is serving, when 'the player should raise himself a little upon the ball of his feet'; the other is preparing to return the ball on the forehand, in which case 'the left foot should be somewhat advanced'. The rackets are strung diagonally as was a common practice at that time. This is the only illustration that shows any sartorial concessions by the players: they have put aside their ubiquitous broad brimmed hats and seem to be playing in their periwigs.

The next illustration depicts a game of football. It is of special importance in that it is probably the earliest illustration

¹ Some of the windows at Cambridge were still unglazed in 1598 (Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Powicke and Emden, iii, 416).

² Edinburgh University Library MS. Da. 2. 1. f. 1.

³ 16 June 1704. *University of Edinburgh. Charters, etc.*, 155.

⁴ Lukin, *A Treatise on Tennis* (1822), 12.

of the game that is immediately recognisable as football. There are two rectangular goals and the ball (about the size of an inflated bladder) is being kicked by opposing players. Only two players are shown, but that may be an artistic simplification; or it may be that the two players are simply at practice.

Jusserand claims the invention of the rectangular football goal for France on the evidence of a French engraving of the sixteenth century¹ which, he believes, depicts a football game with the modern type of association goal with uprights and crossbar. This engraving, however, contains three different games: in the foreground some kind of *jeu de paume* is in progress between three players using two balls; in the background are two archery matches, one for cross-bow and the other for long-bow. Jusserand's 'goal', which he admits to be 'en bien mauvaise perspective' has, in fact, nothing to do with the ball game in the foreground; it is the rail separating the two archery ranges.

Flint's illustration not only supports other evidence² that the Scots were very early recognised as having a special flair and zest for kicking and dribbling a ball as well as for clouting it with a club, but also inclines us to believe that they may have been the first people in Europe to organise the former activity into a regular football game just as they certainly were the first to organise the latter activity into golf.

The field to which the College Hebdomadair or 'duty regent for the week' conducted the students on official playdays was on that part of the Burgh Muir, known as the Gallowgreen, which had been marked off as the 'College pitch' by the Town Council as early as 1591.³ One of the objects of providing the

¹ Jusserand, *Les Sports et Jeux d'Exercice dans l'Ancienne France* (1901), 269.

² There were early and repeated enactments by both English and Scottish kings against the playing of football, but it may have been greater keenness for the game that prevented the Scots from taking as serious an interest in archery as the English. It is significant that the Latin translator of the works of King James VI renders football as 'pila Scotica quae pede propellitur'.

³ It lay 'benorth the gallowis', in the area now occupied by East Preston Street School (Town Council Minutes, 10 March 1591/2). Possibly the customary throwing of a football into the Bajans' (1st year students') class by the semi bajans (2nd year students) on 10 March each year was an anniversary celebration of that beneficent act by the Council. Sir David Hume of Crossrig says that in 1658 the occasion was 'solemnly kept by the semies in going to the football on the Borrow Moor' which, he adds, was 'contrary to the orders of the College', no doubt because it meant absence from classes (*Domestic Details*, 1697-1707 (1843), 5). Hume gives the date for this event as 11 March. The throwing of the football into the classroom on the 10th may, however, have been only the preliminary ceremony.

playing field was probably to keep football off the streets where it would be a danger to windows and annoying to passers-by. Much later, about 1801, there were complaints about the students 'playing ball' among the unfinished New Buildings.¹

The students' dress in the illustration fully accords with other evidence. In an account of the game as it was played at Glasgow in the nineteenth century, before the introduction of Rugby and Association football, we read, 'Regular games between two picked sides were played on the College green, but generally the ball was kept going from nine o'clock till about three on every suitable day by the students between classes. . . . All played in their ordinary clothes and some in their gowns. Tall hats were the fashion and were used by most students.'² The same thing went on at St. Andrews.³

On the other hand, the form of the goals used in Flint's time, with their apparent superfluity of crossbars, is difficult to explain. Thus if the three cross-bars were wide enough apart to let the ball pass between them the different spaces demarcated by them must have had different scoring values if they were to have any function. And yet to determine through which space the ball had passed would seem to call for special goal-judges stationed near the posts and even then, one imagines, differences of opinion could easily arise. If, however, the cross-bars were sufficiently close to prevent the passage of the ball between them they would at least have served some purpose in stopping shots above the goal-mouth which might otherwise have endangered some nearby window; and certainly if the superstructure of the goal had this defensive role it would explain the strengthening stays by which each upright is buttressed at the foot. The goals might therefore have been designed to permit practice games to be played in a confined area such as the College grounds.

A further possible explanation of this unique goal is that it may have been a model or a symbol of something which had earlier been used as a goal. In most of the games of mass football or handball that took place in various towns and villages throughout Britain, especially on Shrove Tuesday, the

¹ Grant, *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, ii, 481.

² Murray, *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow*, 427.

³ Rogers, *History of St. Andrews* (1849), plate facing p. 117, shows a group of students playing football in the quadrangle of United College. All the players are wearing gowns and high hats. I am indebted to Professor Dickinson for calling my attention to this picture.

goals or 'hails' were prominent natural features or landmarks, such as trees, rivers or churches. It will be recalled that the students' playing field was on the Gallowgreen where, of course, the gruesome landmark was the gallows itself, which was rectangular in shape, and consisted of two uprights connected at the top by cross beams from which several unfortunates could be hanged, at one and the same time, side by side.¹ Some of the larger gallows in France certainly had three cross-beams,² and it may well be that there was a similar arrangement on the structure on the Gallowgreen which had the particularly ghastly role of being specially used for victims whose bodies were to be hanged in chains. Thus one end of the students pitch may have become known as the 'gallows end', and it is not impossible that eventually 'gallows' became equated with 'goal' to such an extent that a gallows-like structure was felt to be the proper goal even when the game was played elsewhere, for instance in the College grounds.

This type of goal may have remained local³ as long as it continued to be used. The early nineteenth-century form of Scottish football had no goal-posts, and a 'hail' was scored by kicking the ball over the opponents' end of ground; but if we accept the obvious interpretation of Flint's sketch, the Association Code, when it came to Scotland later in the century, was no alien but merely a forgotten native returning home. It is noteworthy that the wooden cross-bar did not become a regulation part of the Association goal until 1895.⁴

The unusual feature of the archery illustration is again the target, which is a rectangular structure fixed in a vertical position, instead of the normal round target laid against the sloping face of a butt, or on an adjustable stand. The fact that the target is vertical shows that it was for use at point blank range, i.e. up to about 30 yards, which the arrow could cover in practically level flight. Moreover, instead of bearing the usual concentric circles the face of the target is subdivided into squares. Fortunately it is not necessary to resort to 'probabilities' in order to explain this target for, though unusual, it is not, like the football goal, unique. This type of target was

¹ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, x, 84-86.

² E.g. the gallows at Montfaucon, illustrated in *Larousse du XX^e Siècle*, iii, 584, s.v. *fourches patibulaires*.

³ I am grateful to Dr F. Fridericx, Ghent, for making enquiries relating to such goals on the continent.

⁴ *History of the Football Association* (1953), 564.

known as a 'blazon',¹ and, as the squares bore numbers, it was naturally shot at from close range. The highest number was in the centre and the next highest numbers were at the corners and sides. This version of archery is said to have originated in the Low Countries, and, as many Scottish students at this time went on to Leyden and Utrecht to specialise in medicine and law, it is easy to understand its importation into the College of Edinburgh.

Archery having by now lost its military importance had ceased to be a 'prescribed' sport and, in its pure form, was probably too slow and pompous a recreation to be very popular among students, whereas the blazon target would inject into it some of the liveliness and variety of the modern game of darts. The Town Council indeed may have felt that the blazon game afforded more scope for wagers than for exercise, for in July 1673, just too late to benefit Flint, they decided to 'putt up a pair of buttes at the back of my Lord Rutherfoords chalmers in the Colledge for the colleginers recreation'.² This building ran along the south side of the College area and, between it and the city wall, there was a strip of ground probably already used as a playground by the students and now to be equipped as a full-scale archery range.

Finally, to complete our analysis of these illustrations, we should note that shooting with firearms was a popular amusement among the youths of Edinburgh at this time. In the winter of 1660 the City Council were much harassed by false alarms caused by young men 'quho procure pistollis and shoott them in severall places of the Town under night'.³ The culprits were clever enough to escape detection, but suspicion fell heavily upon the students and upon the pupils of the Grammar School. The Town Council in their frustration could only threaten, but their threats, proclaimed at the College and the Grammar School, were probably stern enough to deter all but the most reckless. Any who pretended ignorance of the proclamation were to be visited with 'punishment and extrusion of the Schoollis and Colledge for ever'. Students are not

¹ Roberts, *The English Bowman* (1801), 243n, where, however, it is said that it was not introduced in to England until 'a few years ago'. The square in the centre was No. 1 and had a scoring value of 26.

² *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1665-1680*, 419. A silver arrow was also to be handed over to the 'thesaurer of the Colledge' to be competed for by the students.

³ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1655-1665*, 126.

specifically mentioned again in connection with the misuse of firearms, though in that year of the Restoration the edicts of the Town Council against shooting in the streets reveal a state of 'trigger-happiness' reminiscent of the American wild West. It should be added, however, that though the figure in Flint's sketch appears to be discharging his gun into the air, he is possibly taking part in a popinjay competition.

C. P. FINLAYSON.¹

¹ Keeper of Manuscripts, University Library, Edinburgh.

King James VI's Tocher Gude and a Local Authorities Loan of 1590

The sammen day the saidis baillies consall and deacons of thame selves and as representand the haill communitie of the said burgh understanding that the said baillies and consall ar chargit be our Soverane Lord and his comptroller to ressave twa thowsand pundis money of this realme of his hieness tocher gude to be keipit be thame and Imployit for yeirlie proffieit of twa hundreth pundis money therfor and knawand that thair is na uther remeid bot the samyn sowme mon be ressavit Hes nominat creat and ordanit Paule Lyle thesawrer Johne Wilkie Andro Gray and James Gray thair commissioneris to pas to Edinburgh and thair to ressafe the said sowme and to mak sic securitie on thair names thairfor as effeiris conforme to the ordour to be done be the remanent burrowis and ordanis thame to haif ane commission thairanent desuper actum.¹

THIS extract has a certain topical quality today when local government bodies have the utmost difficulty in obtaining authority to raise loans for their most necessary purposes and some have even found themselves under threat of committal to prison for contempt of court if they cannot prove that they have exercised all possible diligence in pressing their claims on the Treasury. By such the offer of a loan would hardly be met with the feeling of sullen resignation expressed by the Haddington Town Council. True, the interest rate of 10% might give them pause, but it appears to have been a much more moderate rate for the period than the 7% or 7½% about which they now complain so bitterly. Two days after this minute the commissioners of the burgh returned with £1,900, the Comptroller having retained £100 'in his own hand'—not, it may be added, his method of securing that the Comptrollery was 'an office of profit under the Crown', but simply the retention of one half-year's interest in advance. The Council then proceeded, after utilising part of the money to pay off debts which they had had to incur on the security of the town's property at 12%, to

¹ Minute of the Meeting of the Town Council of Haddington, 1 October 1590, in Haddington Town Council Records, (Scottish Record Office), Item 100.

distribute the rest to various burgesses on loan at 10% secured on their lands and tenements. It is perhaps of some significance that the recipients of these 'forced' loans were either themselves councillors or their relatives. The extract is even more interesting as illustrating the difficulties of managing public finance in the absence of any organised banking facilities in a country without security for law and order.

The money involved was part of the *tocher* received by James VI on his marriage to Anne of Denmark. When James in June 1589 sent his commissioners to Denmark to negotiate the marriage he instructed them to demand, in addition to a long list of commercial concessions to Scotland, a dowry of 'ten hundreth thousand pounds Scots'¹ a demand which might have been justified if Anne were being invited to share the bed and throne of a young Adonis, already the assured inheritor of the Kingdoms of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and not that of a King who, in his own words, was 'without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave him to his face'. The Danes, as Asheby reports to Burghley,² thinking that kings should match for love and alliance and not expect sums of money, answered the ambassadors that if it pleased the King of Scotland to accept the young lady with such portion as the late King, her father, left for her, which did not exceed 70,000 dollars, the Danish Royal Family would agree. Fowler later reports to Walsingham that the figure was to be 100,000 dollars, but that some portion of it might have been spent already on providing for the journey.³ The Danes might have been even stiffer had they known that, in Scotland, the King and his Court were feverishly looking for decently furnished accommodation fit to house the bride, and that Asheby had had to take steps to prevent the Scottish purveyors from 'scrounging' from the other side of the Border palatable victuals such as might 'furnish forth the wedding breakfast'. Ultimately the '*tocher*' was fixed by the Marriage Contract of 20 August 1589 at 75,000 dollars.⁴

There is no record of the time at which or the form in which the money was received, but the Edinburgh Council Records of 24 June and 12 August equate 20,000 dollars with £40,000

¹ *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, x, 103.

² *Ibid.*, x, 126.

³ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁴ Danish Treaties, No. 10 (Scottish Record Office). Registered on 17 May 1590 in Register of the Great Seal, xxxvii, 329.

Scots, so that the total dowry must have been £150,000 Scots. The safe custody of such a sum in specie must have offered a considerable problem. Only Edinburgh Castle or Stirling Castle could have been a safe depository, and even then the question would arise—who should be the keeper of such a treasure? In the result an interesting expedient was devised which not only solved these problems but also offered a source of revenue to the Crown.

Among the papers belonging to the Burgh of Haddington which have survived the ravages of neglect and decay is a copy, or possibly the original, of a contract dated [blank] July 1590 entered into between the Comptroller, David Seyton of Parbroath, and a number of burghs.¹ The latter acknowledge themselves to be indebted to the Crown in the following amounts:

Edinburgh	£40,000 Scots
Perth	12,000 „
Dundee	20,000 „
Aberdeen	8,000 „
Glasgow	4,000 „
Haddington	2,000 „
Kirkcaldy	4,000 „
Dysart	4,000 „
Anstruther	2,000 „
St. Andrews	2,000 „
Pittenweem	2,000 „

and in all cases the 'proffit' is to be at the rate of 10% p.a., payable in two instalments at Whitsunday and Martinmas and secured against the rents and common good of the community concerned. The loans are to be repayable either at the demand of the Comptroller (with the consent of the Lords of Council) following premonition of a year and a day, or, after seven years, at the demand of the burgh community concerned following six months premonition and intimation to the King and Council. Should the Comptroller refuse to receive payment after premonition and intimation the burgh community concerned is to be liable only for the payment of the principal.

The matter was probably discussed informally among the representatives of the Royal Burghs at the Convention held in

¹ Haddington Town Council Records (Scottish Record Office), No. 205. The document is fragmentary, the testing clause breaking off in the middle of the list of witnesses and before the Subscriptions; some of the amounts are illegible but can be supplied from entries in *Exchequer Rolls*, xxii.

Aberdeen from 8 to 15 June 1590, though there is no mention of it in the printed proceedings. In addition to the entries in the Haddington records, however, there are also entries in the burgh records of Edinburgh and Dysart.¹ The Edinburgh Council had had intimation of the proposal on 11 June and 'after laing resoning had thereupon, findis it expedient to resave ane part of the said toquher and that the guid town imploy the samyn upoun annuell at ten of the hunder to be payit to his Majesty conform to ane contract to be set down thereupoun'; on 24 June, having studied the terms of the contract, they gave consent to it in all points; and on 12 August the burgh treasurer announced that he had received 20,000 dollars and had, in conformity with a decision of 1 July, distributed it among the 'maist suir and responsall merchants' on proper security. Dysart received its share, less one half-year's interest, on 21 August, and the Council ordained the same to be distributed among 40 persons, each £100.

It is not clear how Haddington Town Council managed to put off consideration of the receipt of their assignment until October, or what is the status of the contract found among their papers. Though the commissioners of all the other burghs are named, wherever those for Haddington are mentioned the space for their names is left blank. No other copy of the contract has come to light, though in Edinburgh on 12 November 1591, the Council directed their treasurer, John Mackcorran, to 'extract and rayse the contract . . . that it may be reddey to know quhen neid is quhow far the guid town is oblist thereanent'.

Under this arrangement the bulk of the treasure was distributed in moderate amounts amongst bodies subject to discipline, and those bodies in turn sub-divided their shares on good security amongst people whom they could trust. The scheme was obviously devised to provide a long-term treasury balance to meet needs which could be foreseen well in advance. Taking the burghs as bankers, these were deposit accounts, only the interest as it accrued being available for use by the treasury for current needs. The capital was not to be employed even in discharging the king's existing debts—and certainly not his debts to the burghs which could be safely put off. On the very day on which Haddington received its share of the

¹ I am much indebted to Dr C. T. McInnes for his help in tracing these entries for me.

loan a deputation from the Convention was endeavouring in vain, and not for the first time, to recover payment of a loan of 22,000 marks which the king had received from the burghs.¹

The Comptroller started a new section in his accounts to deal with the interest as it was received, commencing with the annual rents for the terms of Martinmas 1590 and Whitsunday 1591 and continuing until the Martinmas term 1593.² The half-yearly rents were collected by Daniel Boill, messenger and keeper of the outer door of the Checker, who travelled round to Glasgow, Perth and other burghs collecting and bringing in the annual of the King's Grace's tocher being in the hands of the bailies of the said burghs.³

The scheme did not work out as planned. The deposit accounts became current accounts, to be drawn upon as required, sometimes with notice, sometimes without. By April 1594 the whole of Edinburgh's £40,000 had gone, most of it to the king's private creditors such as John Arnot, Provost at the time the loan was received, who, according to an assignation in the Council archives, was assigned £10,000 on 29 May 1593 in part payment of various greater sums lent to the Crown and of £4,000 borrowed at His Majesty's very earnest desire when other moyen could not be had. A further assignation to him dated 31 March 1594 notes that jewels had been pledged to him by the Crown. The outstanding balance of Edinburgh's loan was now paid to the Comptroller for 'outred' of His Majesty's affairs 'tending to repress the rebellion of Frances, sumtyme Earl Bothuill, and this without any premonition the necessitie of the eirand swa requiring'. Other sums went to provide furnishings for the Prince's baptism or for the use of the Queen for the apparelling of her ladies. The orders could be peremptory. Dysart had forty-eight hours'

¹ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs 1295-1597*, 349.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, xxii, 114, 190, 284, 374. With regard to these entries Dr McInnes has brought to my notice a confusion in the Introduction to that volume. He writes, 'In the Introduction to the Exchequer Rolls, xxii, p. xxxvi, the editor confuses tocher with the marriage tax. It was Anne's tocher that was farmed out to the burghs, and not the marriage tax as he states. The contract provides for the investment of £100,000 in July 1590, whereas the last instalment of the £25,000 of the marriage tax was not leviable until Martinmas of that year. If the editor had carefully read the preamble in the Comptroller's account at p. 102 he would have realised that the two items are quite separate and that it was impossible to proceed to invest £100,000 of the marriage tax (as he wrongly concluded) and at the same time assign £10,000 of that tax to the "Comptar in support of the chairgis and burding of his office"'.
³ *Exchequer Rolls*, xxii, 161, 309.

notice, and Haddington three days' notice to pay on assignations under pain of rebellion.¹ How little ready cash was likely to be in the King's Treasury at any time is shown by an order of 15 May 1593 made by the king, with advice and consent of David Seyton of Parbroath and of the Lords Auditors, in favour of James Dalzell and for the paltry sum of £400 Scots which had been lent for the provision of the King's Grace's house. The money was to be paid as to £270 from the readiest of the feu mails of Fife and as to £130 from the readiest of the annual rent of the King's 'tocher guid' being in the hands of the bailies of Kirkcaldy within ten days of their being charged thereof under pain of rebellion.²

In 1594 the 'tocher guid' no longer appears in the Comptroller's accounts. Apparently all of it had then been expended.

A. MONTGOMERIE.³

¹ *Register of the Privy Council*, v, 139, 145, 151, 152, 156, 159.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, xxii, 580.

³ Member of the Council and Editorial Committee of the East Lothian Antiquarian Society.

The Origin of Christianity in Scotland

THE German scholar K. Holl drew attention in a fascinating paper to the extraordinarily unorganised way in which Christianity spread over the Roman Empire. Arrangements which are nowadays regarded as indispensable for successful mission-work were quite unknown in ancient times. Mission schools were practically non-existent. In the third and fourth centuries there were no full-time, professional missionaries. Proselytising sermons were not delivered: the Gospel was not preached in public to throngs of unbelievers. Even inside the Christian communities no special emphasis appears to have been laid on preaching with a view to winning new converts; preachers directed their attention to strengthening the faith of those who already believed.¹ Now if this was the attitude of the Church towards the inhabitants of the Empire, it is not likely that a better organisation existed for the conversion of the despised barbarians living beyond the frontier. And if, in fact, any success was won in the lands of the barbarians the Church regarded it as a mere *Nebenerfolg*²: it was the individual achievement of the local bishop. There is no evidence that the popes before Gregory I tried systematically to diffuse Christianity beyond the Imperial frontiers,³ and still less is there any evidence that the Emperors and their ministers in the fourth and fifth centuries made a political use of Christianity in their dealings with the barbarians. Hence it would be an error to suppose that Ninian's mission was a detail in Stilicho's reorganisation of the frontier—such use of a Christian bishop would have been alien to the ideas of the Roman rulers at that time.⁴

¹ K. Holl, 'Die Missionsmethode der alten und die der mittelalterlichen Kirche', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1928), 117-29.

² *Ibid.*, 117.

³ *Contra*, W. Douglas Simpson (*Saint Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland*, 88, and cf. 1, 66) whose views on this matter have been widely accepted. On Gregory I in this connection see now R. E. Sullivan, 'The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages', in *Mediaeval Studies*, xvii (1955), 46-106.

⁴ Simpson, *op. cit.*, 68, 88; cf. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series, vii (1942), 51. The same scholar, writing in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fourth Series, xxiii (1945), 83, cites no evidence for his view that Ulfilas's mission to the Goths was a matter of Imperial policy.

Apart from Ninian we know of several bishops who worked beyond the northern frontier of the Empire, whether in these islands or on the continent, and it will be worth our while to glance at one or two matters which are recorded about them. Palladius, as we are explicitly told, was consecrated by pope Celestine in 431 as bishop to the Scots in Ireland who believed in Christ.¹ That is to say, he was sent to a community of Christians which was already in existence before 431: the pope did not consecrate him with the aim of converting the heathen. Patrick's 'conditions of appointment' would be identical with those of his predecessor, for the function of the bishopric remained unchanged irrespective of the identity of its occupant. The third of these bishops is the Visigoth Ulfila who was consecrated by Eusebius of Nicomedia in 341 not in order to convert the barbarians but so as to serve as bishop to those Christians who were already living in Gothia (that is, roughly, Rumania)²: on this point, too, our evidence is explicit. Augustine of Canterbury lived at a later date than that which concerns us, but it is worth recalling that he was not a bishop when he first went to England. It was only when he had established a Christian community there that he was summoned to Arles and consecrated.³ And Frumentius of Axum in Ethiopia could be cited as a fourth-century parallel from beyond the southern frontier of the Empire.⁴ These are the only bishops apart from Ninian, so far as I can discover, who worked outside the Roman *limites* in pagan lands; and it is explicitly recorded of all of them that their function was to minister to Christian communities which already existed before they were consecrated. Moreover, there is evidence in a letter of pope Celestine himself that a bishop was appointed only when a request for one had been made by the community in question and only when the community had been consulted on the appointment.⁵ No example is known of a man who was appointed bishop with

¹ Prosper 1307 (*Chronica Minora*, i, 473)—'ad Scottos in Christum credentes'. The evidence for the existence of Christianity in Ireland before Patrick is set out in J. B. Bury, *The Life of St. Patrick*, (1905), 349-52.

² Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii, 5 (p. 18, 1 f., ed. Bidez).

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 27; cf. 23—'Augustinum, quem eis episcopum ordinandum, si ab Anglis susciperentur, disposuerat', sc. Gregorius.

⁴ Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 10.

⁵ Celestine, *Ep.*, iv, 5 (Migne, *PL.*, 50, 484)—'nullus invitis detur episcopus. Cleri, plebis et ordinis consensus ac desiderium requiratur'. This is perhaps more likely to be a statement of current practice than the formulation of a new policy.

the specific task of going beyond the frontier in order to convert the barbarians. A bishop with no Christian communities subject to his authority was an unknown phenomenon beyond the Imperial frontier.

All this has an important bearing on the biography of St. Ninian. Ninian is explicitly said by Bede to have been a bishop. Hence he cannot well be regarded as the originator of Christianity in Scotland, and there is not the slightest hint in Bede that he was. Bede's statement that he was a bishop distinctly implies (in view of the evidence which we have cited) that there was a Christian community in south-western Scotland *before* Ninian was consecrated. Indeed, it is not improbable that this community was sufficiently well organised to send a collective appeal to the appropriate authority (the bishop of York?) for the appointment of a bishop and to enter into consultations on the choice of Ninian. We might go further: Bede does not say and he does not even imply that Ninian was the first bishop of Candida Casa, and it would be impossible to refute the view that he had predecessors there (though few would believe, I fancy, that he can have had many). However that may be, if our suggestion is rejected and we suppose that Ninian was consecrated bishop of a region in which there was no Christian community already in existence, then we must add that this was an unparalleled innovation which could not easily be accounted for.

But Ninian treated his see much as Patrick and Ulfla treated theirs. No doubt he ministered to the Christians whom he found living within his bishopric in south-western Scotland. But he was not content to work solely among those who had already been converted. Just as Patrick and Ulfla worked outside the Christian communities of their respective countries, so Ninian went to the 'southern Picts', who are sometimes thought to have lived between the Firth of Forth and the Mounth, and won them permanently to Christianity.¹ But

¹ The boundaries of their land are thus defined by Mrs Nora K. Chadwick, 'St. Ninian: A Preliminary Study of Sources', in *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society*, Third Series, xxvii (1950), 11 f. But the question certainly cannot be regarded as settled: there is a careful study of it in A.O. Anderson, 'Ninian and the Southern Picts', *ante*, xxvii (1948), 25-47, who reaches the conclusion: *non liquet*. Bury, *op. cit.*, 192, 313, took Coroticus's Pictish allies to be the 'Picts of Galloway'; but it now seems clear that these are a figment which should disappear from our history books (see F. T. Wainwright, *The Problem of the Picts*, 40-4). I provisionally accept the view that the Pictish allies of Coroticus came from north of the Forth.

that does not affect the view that the history of Scottish Christianity does not begin with Ninian. The history of Christianity north of the Forth doubtless originates with him, but we must not speak of his leading the first Christian mission to Scotland. Scottish Christianity is older than Ninian.

Were the Irish the first people living outside the northern Roman frontier to be converted to Christianity *en masse*? Clearly, the distinction would belong to the southern Picts if it could be shown that Ninian's career fell at an earlier date than that of Patrick. And perhaps it did: for Patrick himself twice mentions some Picts who had become Christian but had relapsed into paganism before he wrote his *Epistle to Coroticus*. Who had converted them? If we doubt that they had been converted by Ninian, must we not posit an earlier mission than his in order to account for the origin of Christianity north of the Forth? It would be possible, of course, to underestimate the missionary effort put forth in the Celtic world in the mid-fifth century; and the late Professor E. MacNeil, referring to Patrick, *Confessio* li, rightly commented: 'This surely implies that there were places in Ireland, not in the remoter parts, places where some had come before Patrick and had performed the purely episcopal functions of ordination and confirmation.'¹ But to suppose that the apostate Pictish allies of Coroticus had been converted by someone other than Ninian would surely be to multiply hypotheses unnecessarily. In other words, the existence of Christianity among Coroticus's Pictish allies is independent evidence—some might say that it is the only valid evidence—that Ninian had gone to work at or before the middle of the fifth century. (It is scarcely necessary to add that the apostasy of Coroticus's Pictish allies does not refute Bede's statement that the southern Picts were Christian in Columba's day. The apostasy suggests no more than a temporary or a local setback to Ninian's work.)

Now, Patrick's *Epistle to Coroticus* can be dated with some accuracy. Bury showed reason for thinking that the bitterness of the tone in which certain parts of the *Epistle* are phrased suggests that 'the letter belongs to the later rather than to the earlier period of Patrick's labours in Ireland', and he even guessed that the date might be 459.² But in fact there is some-

¹ E. MacNeil, *Phases of Irish History*, (Dublin, 1920), 163.

² Bury, *op. cit.*, 195, 303. The term 'guess' is Bury's own: *ibid.*, 396, s.v. *Coroticus*.

what firmer evidence. Patrick sent his first (lost) letter to Coroticus in the hands of a priest whom he had instructed from infancy, 'cum sancto presbytero quem ego ex infantia docui'.¹ Now this man could scarcely have been ordained as priest (*presbyter*) until he was aged thirty, and we may therefore assume that Patrick had begun to instruct him some twenty or more years before the incident of Coroticus. But even if Patrick began to do so in the very first year of his mission, 432, we can hardly put the *Epistle* much earlier than the middle of the sixth decade of the century. And since there is evidence that Patrick died in 461, the *Epistle* may not unfairly be dated c. 455-61: Bury's 'guess' may not have been very wide of the mark. From all this it is a reasonable inference that Ninian may have begun his work among the southern Picts before c. 455. The date of his consecration is, of course, another matter, one upon which we have no valid evidence at all. It may at least be said, then, that the southern Picts share with the Irish the distinction of having been converted to Christianity earlier than any other barbarian people who lived outside the northern frontier of the Roman Empire. Moreover, if our dating is accepted, it also follows that Coroticus, the British king of Dumbarton, and his nominally Christian followers were part of the flock of the bishop of Whithorn, though it does not necessarily follow that they had been converted by Ninian.

Towards the middle of the fifth century, then, there were Christian communities at Whithorn (for otherwise Ninian would hardly have made it his headquarters), at Dumbarton, and apparently at other places too, though there is no reason to think that south-western Scotland was solidly Christian at that date.² In fact, we may venture to state three conclusions on the position of Christianity in Scotland in the middle of the fifth century, for the three nationalities which inhabited the area were, with regard to their religion, in three different stages of development: (i) There were comparatively well organised Christian communities of Britons in the south-west; (ii) the Picts living between the Forth and the Mounth were in process of being converted, though Ninian's successes were not unbroken; and (iii) the Irish who had settled to the north-west of the Clyde estuary were still pagan.³ The first and third of

¹ *Ep. ad Coroticum*, iii.

² See Bury, *op. cit.*, 316 f.

³ I follow Bury, *op. cit.*, 315, in assuming that the reference is to these in Patrick, *Ep. ad Coroticum*, xiv—'genti exteræ ignorant Deum'.

these conclusions can be accepted with reasonable assurance. The second depends on the assumption that Coroticus's Pictish allies who had lapsed from Christianity had been converted by Ninian's mission. In any event, the origin of Scottish Christianity is impenetrably obscure, for our authorities give us not the slightest hint at the identity of those who first taught the Gospel among the Britons of the south-west. And even if we could date Ninian's consecration precisely and securely, we should still have to ask for how long before that date Christian communities had existed in Strathclyde.

I have not cited the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* or Ailred's *Vita* as sources for the career of Ninian. But perhaps this is not wholly justifiable. Both these documents draw on the lost *Vita* to which Ailred refers; and this lost *Vita* appears not to have been altogether without historical value, for it preserved a reference to Tudwal, which seems to be a genuine piece of information¹ and which is not to be found in Bede. On the other hand, few will believe that Bede followed the lost *Vita*.² I would suggest that the correspondences which exist between Bede and the lost *Vita* were not due to the author of the latter having followed Bede—for how in that case did he hear of Tudwal?—but to both alike having drawn upon the oral tradition of Whithorn. Bede, as is generally believed, had access to this tradition through Pecthelm, while the author of the lost *Vita* can hardly have written elsewhere than at Whithorn itself. This suggestion is supported by Bede's use of the phrase *ut perhibent*, which shows that his information was oral.³ Oral tradition is too often overlooked, or its importance is too often underestimated, by students of *Quellenforschung*. As for the historical value of the tradition, I see little reason to doubt the judgment of Mr Raleigh Radford, who notes that the 'evidence of continuity in the cult of St. Ninian favours the supposition that the Northumbrians took over the existing Celtic monastery and strengthens the presumption that the information found in Bede and the *Miracula* is based on a genuine tradition preserved on the site'.⁴ Hence, when Bede says explicitly that Ninian was a bishop, we cannot reasonably doubt the truth of his statement.

E. A. THOMPSON.⁵

¹ Ailred, *Vita*, iv, *Miracula*, title to section 5, and verse 104. See Mrs Chadwick, *ut cit.*, 23. *Contra*, Anderson, *ut cit.*, 28.

² On this hypothesis see W. Levison, *Antiquity*, xiv (1940), 289 f.

³ See Plummer's edition, xlv, footnote. ⁴ *Dumfriesshire Transactions* (as in *supra*, p. 19 note 1), 97. ⁵ Professor of Classics in the University of Nottingham.

Scottish Officers in the British Army 1714-63

I BEGIN to think it Damm hard to purchase every Thing when I am equally inclin'd to do my Duty with those who come at preferment at an easier rate, had I been a Scott instead of a Cambrian I should have had a Company long agoe—Friends or Foes, I think they prevail . . .', wrote Lieutenant William Dawkin of the 39th Regiment in December 1747, a year after the suppression of the 'Forty Five'.¹ His complaint serves to draw attention to the fact that there were Scottish officers in the British standing army at this period in numbers that were a challenge to the promotion of officers from the other kingdoms of the Union. What, then, was the background to Dawkin's grievance, and what did a career in the British service mean to Scotsmen in the reigns of the first two German kings of the united kingdoms?

For generations Scottish families had been more attracted to a military life than English ones. The economic pressure of large families and lesser fortunes had long served to add force to a deep-seated predilection for military service which had usually to be gratified abroad. In the period under review the two had combined to impell their members into the armies of Britain and the continental states in greater numbers than their English cousins, who had more to keep them at home. Representative of the martial bent of many Scottish families at this time were the Agnews of Lochnaw in Galloway, a family who literally lived by the sword. Sir James Agnew, the third baronet, had eight sons, all of whom became professional soldiers, and the men of the cadet branch of Lochryan followed similar inclinations. This tradition of unstinted service continued in following generations. Of these Agnews who served

¹ The John Rylands Library, Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/141. This is the largest and by far the most useful of all private collections relating to the military background of the period. Through the kindness of the Librarian and of the staff of the archives department I had the privilege of examining it a year or two ago, and attempted an initial survey in 'The Military Papers of Colonel Samuel Bagshawe (1713-62)' in *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library*, xxxix (1957).

the Hanoverians in the eighteenth century the most celebrated was old Sir James's eldest son, Andrew the fourth baronet, who died a lieutenant-general and colonel of the 21st regiment.¹

This preoccupation with the profession of arms was part of the accepted pattern of life among the territorial families. When Sir Andrew joined the 'Grey Dragoons' in Flanders during Marlborough's wars, as a young cornet, he found his brother-in-law and four kinsmen already with the regiment, and when he went again to Flanders in 1742 as lieutenant-colonel of the 21st Regiment,² his letters show that a large party of relatives, kinsmen and neighbours from his native Galloway used to meet each evening around the camp-fires. These included Sir Andrew himself, his brother James Agnew who was major of the 7th Dragoons, and three younger brothers in the 6th Dragoons.³ Lord Stair, the British commander-in-chief, was himself a Galloway man, and a kinsman of the Agnews.

The standing army at this time was a small force, amounting, up to the year 1739, to some twenty regiments of cavalry and forty of infantry, besides household troops, although two wars had helped considerably to augment its permanent establishment by the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. These regiments were separate entities for military and administrative purposes, there being no peacetime organisation into brigades and divisions and no staff hierarchy as we know it today. They were not organised on a territorial basis and had no county roots or affiliations, with the result that the national composition of each regiment depended almost entirely upon the area of the British Isles in which it was stationed at any one time and upon the nationality of its officers. The latter was a particularly relevant factor. The regimental officers were responsible for recruiting the regiment, under the orders of Government, and since, as often as not, they were permitted to recruit in their home areas, thus combining business with pleasure at least expense to either, the composition of the regiment reflected their individual nationalities.

Among the regimental officers of the army at this time were to be found English, Scots, Welsh, and Anglo-Irish, with even a few colonials, and every condition of men from peers of the realm to the penniless younger sons of struggling professional men or yeoman farmers. Every regiment had its complement

¹ Sir A. Agnew, *The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway* (1893), ii, 431 ff.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 208.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 280.

of hardy Scots. It was very much the exception to the rule if a regiment found itself without any Scottish officers. The general return of the 39th Regiment for 1752 showed three of them, two of whom were captains and one a lieutenant.¹ The number in each regiment was generally, on average, higher than this. In regiments which were, from their early days, associated with the northern kingdom such as the Grey Dragoons, and the 1st, 21st, 25th, 26th and 42nd Regiments,² the officers were predominantly Scotsmen, whilst regiments like the 33rd³ which chanced to have Scottish gentlemen for their colonels always contained a number of their countrymen, usually their relatives and protégés, among the officers. The 33rd, indeed, numbered 30 Scots among the 106 officers who served with it, 1739-55. There was also a marked tendency towards nepotism. Sir Andrew's colonel, Brigadier John Campbell of the 21st, had three of his relatives among the lieutenants of his regiment. Among them was a Duncan Campbell, 'one I have a particular concerne in', he informed Agnew. 'He is a very pretty boy, has had a very liberal education and writes and speaks French, so that I can recommend him to you for an aid-de-camp. You'll find him vastly useful', he assured him.⁴ The 6th Dragoons, for so long associated with Ireland and Enniskillen, were commanded by Lord Stair 1715-34, and during these years no fewer than eight of his relatives and kinsmen were serving in the regiment at one time.⁵ The like was the case in many regiments whose colonels were Scots. In all, something like one-fourth of all the regimental officers of the army were Scottish. There was a steady accretion in their numbers between 1714 and 1763 but no great variation in the overall fraction, since the increase marched *pari passu* with the progressive expansion of the size of the army occasioned by the demands of war.

The Scots were not confined to bearing the drudgeries of regimental duty. Provided their political allegiance was not suspect they could expect no obstruction to be placed in the

¹ Bagshawe MSS., 2/4/140.

² Now the Royal Scots Greys, the Royal Scots, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the King's Own Scottish Borderers, the Cameronians and the Black Watch.

³ Now the 1st Battalion, The Duke of Wellington's Regiment. Robert Dalzell was colonel 1730-39 and Lord Charles Hay 1753-60, while Hugh, Viscount Primrose, George Mure of the Caldwell family, and Sir James Lockhart-Ross, Bt., were among the lieutenant-colonels in these years.

⁴ Agnew, *op. cit.*, ii, 289-90. John Campbell of Mamore succeeded as fourth duke of Argyll in 1761.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 258.

way of their preferment. This is demonstrated by the large number of them who became colonels of regiments, appointments of great financial reward at this period. At the accession of George I eighty-one colonels continued to serve the new monarch, and among their number were twelve Scottish gentlemen. Between 1715 and 1739, the years of peace before the outbreak of the war with Spain, there were nineteen Scots among the ninety-four new appointments: and between 1739 and the end of the Seven Years War forty-seven Scotsmen figured among the 199 new colonels, making a total of seventy-eight Scottish colonels out of the 374 confirmed and appointed since 1714. This means that just under one-fifth of all colonelcies went to Scottish officers.¹ Taken together with the regimental officers it represents a fraction of the whole which is out of proportion to the relative populations of England and Scotland at this time. The northern kingdom was certainly pulling its weight in answering the military commitments of the united realm, whatever the impulses behind the effort.

The majority of these officers were lowland Scots. Besides being more addicted to Jacobitism, the Highlanders, when they did leave home, were inclined to serve in the Scots-Dutch or in other continental armies rather than in the British service.² There were, however, far more Highland officers in the army before the outbreak of the Seven Years War than is generally realised.³ Many Highland gentlemen supported the union, and

¹ These figures were compiled during the course of work for an M.A. thesis, 'The social and professional background of the officers of the British army, 1714-63', now deposited in the University of London Library.

² For the Scots-Dutch, see *Papers relating to the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands* (Scottish History Society). A considerable number of officers came into the British service from continental armies at the beginning of the Seven Years War, particularly from the Scots-Dutch who contributed seventy or eighty officers for the new levies. Most of these were half-pay officers, reduced in 1749 and 1752 when the Scots-Dutch had been lessened in size. Nothing like this influx had occurred in the earlier war. Among the more prominent of these officers were some who raised or commanded new regiments later in the war: David Graeme of Gorthie and Braco (105th); Robert Murray Keith (87th); Thomas Oswald (103rd); James Johnstone (101st), and others.

³ Pitt has long been credited, quite wrongly, with first conceiving the notion to recruit Highlanders into the army in whole regiments. Highland companies, regimented in 1739 to form the 43rd (now 42nd), the first Highland regiment, had been used early in the period under review, and in the 1739-48 war a two-battalioned regiment of Highlanders had been raised by John, fourth earl of Loudoun, and bore his name. It served with reputation in Flanders, but was disbanded at the peace. Twelve independent companies, largely composed of, and officered by, Highlanders, had been sent out to India with Boscawen's fleet in 1747, and many loyal Highland companies had helped to put down the rebellion.

either served in the army themselves or were represented there by their sons and relatives. Many of the Scottish members at Westminster were Highland gentlemen, filling places in the army, high and low. Among them was Sir Robert Munro, of Foulis, member for the Wick boroughs 1710-41, who was the first lieutenant-colonel of the 42nd when it was regimented in 1739. When colonel of the 37th Regiment he was killed in action against his fellow countrymen at Falkirk in 1746 at the age of sixty-two. Lieutenant-General Charles Ross of Balnagowan, member for Ross-shire 1727-34, was another. He was colonel of the 5th Dragoons 1695-1714, and after being deprived of the regiment on suspicion of his political allegiance, was re-appointed in 1729. But highland or lowland, these Scottish colonels were decidedly men of weight in their own country. They were almost without exception landed proprietors, and over half of them were titled noblemen and baronets and their sons.¹ Half their total number sat in parliament, for the most part in the lower house, with a few in the upper house as representative Scottish peers.²

The channels by which Scotsmen entered the army were much the same as those in England. To secure a first commission application had to be made to influential persons and a sufficient 'interest' generated. Sir James Agnew purchased first commissions for most of his sons. In January 1718 he wrote to his kinsman, Lord Stair, requesting that his second son, Patrick, be allowed to purchase a cornetcy in his dragoons. Patrick Agnew had been intended for the legal profession and, wrote his father, 'hath got a very liberal education for fitting him for that business, having studied the law for some years at home, and went thereafter to Poictou, in France, when he plied the law pretty close for two years.' On his return, said Sir James, his son had still wished to become an advocate, but had become 'very much discouraged . . . by reason that there are already too many of that profession; for there is not one-third of that employment that are able to gain their bread by it, and even of that number the most part are such as have good estates, and are able to live upon their own till such time as they come into business; and indeed they cannot propose coming into business for a good many years after entering.'³ This

¹ Nineteen titled noblemen, seven of their sons, and ten baronets.

² Twenty-five of the Scottish colonels were M.P.'s, and at least a dozen were representative peers.

³ Agnew, *op. cit.*, ii, 235.

being the case, his father thought him better provided for in the army. Patrick got his commission, but unfortunately died young.

Money did much to smooth the path to a first commission. It was otherwise with John Mackenzie, the younger son of a minor laird, William Mackenzie of Suddie,¹ who in 1730 enlisted as a gentleman volunteer in the hope of being given a quartermaster's warrant or an officer's commission. There was little money to spare for a younger son. The regiment of his choice was a dragoon regiment upon the Irish establishment commanded by his kinsman, General Charles Ross of Balnagowan, in which his cousin Alexander Rose, of the Kilravock family, was lieutenant-colonel. Lord Cathcart, then colonel of the 8th Dragoons, was also a kinsman. Yet despite these connections, and an obvious desire to please, John waited six years for his first commission, an ensigncy in a regiment of foot. This he owed not to those on whom he had pinned his original hopes, although, as he said, General Ross was 'so very intimate with the Duke of Dorsett, that for half a dozen words [he] could get a Pair of Colours in any regiment of Foot in Ireland for me . . .'² but to another kinsman, Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, already mentioned. His long wait was due partly to the fact that his colonel and his backers had nearer relatives than himself to serve, and partly to the unpleasant reality that he could not afford to purchase when a quartermaster's warrant was permitted to be sold.³ During this time he kept a servant, whom he later sent as a drummer to his uncle's company in the 1st Royals, and contrived to live in a certain style, largely owing to the kindness of his relations, the lieutenant-colonel and his uncle, Captain John Shaw of the Royals, of whom he wrote, 'Were it not for the Generosity of my good Uncle I cou'd not bear it out so long like a Gentleman, as thank God

¹ For this family see Sir R. Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*, 415-17. Thirteen volumes of the family papers are housed in the British Museum (B.M., Add. MSS., 39188-39200). Gentlemen volunteers were a feature of military life at this time. They were usually young men of good family, like John Mackenzie, with little means. There were others in his dragoon regiment, (B.M. Add. MSS., 39189, fol. 25). For an interesting account of one such gentleman, Henry Spelman of the King's Dragoon Guards, see *Hist. MSS. Comm., Townshend MSS.* (in 11th Report, part 4), 151-2.

² B.M., Add. MSS., 39189, fol. 25.

³ B.M., Add. MSS., 39189, fols. 60, and 1, 16, 25. Quartermaster's warrants (there was one Q.M. to each troop in a cavalry regiment) were at the colonel's disposal, and were more frequently given away to deserving young men than put up for sale.

I've done.'¹ His ensigny in General Robert Sutton's regiment, the 19th, was procured through Sir Robert Munro's interest with the earl of Wilmington, father-in-law of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the duke of Dorset, in whose gift junior military appointments in the Irish regiments were vested. John Mackenzie's career was not cut short by sudden death, as was poor Patrick Agnew's. He went through the disastrous West Indian expedition of 1740-42 unscathed, where so many died, and survived to die a lieutenant-colonel of marines many years later.

Scottish officers had a name for efficiency, but as William Dawkin's words suggest, they were not always popular with their brother officers, nor yet with members of the governing aristocracy in London. This is evident from a letter written in 1757 by Charles, third duke of Richmond, to his younger brother, Lord George Henry Lennox, who was then a captain in the 25th Regiment (a Scottish one which he had entered by choice), and who now wished to have a majority in one of the new Highland regiments being raised by Simon Fraser and Archibald Montgomery from men whose political affiliations were distinctly dubious. Playing the elder brother, the duke said that he had been very sorry when George 'grew so fond' of the Scots, and that he was now rather appalled by this new inclination, since 'a desire of serving with them and in one of the new Highland battalions will be looked upon as having the same principles and way of thinking as they have. . . . What stronger connection can there be', he continued, 'than desiring to serve in the same corps, commanded and composed of rebels? . . . I hope you will entirely drop it, I could wish you would do the same of your fondness for the Scotch in general. Be civil to them as they have been to you. Allow them great

¹ B.M., Add. MSS., 39189, fol. 159. John was very much concerned with keeping up the appearance of gentility, 'otherwise, I can assure you', he told his father, 'I would rather goe a Slave to Virginia, than live a Private Dragoon, in Ireland' (fol. 16). He was a young man with an amusing turn of phrase. Writing from Ballyshannon in 1739 he excused his previous silence by his being 'confined to Quarters, in a Much more Retird place than Suddie: no Officer with me & nothing worth giving my friends any trouble-offering, & nothing but exercising the company (which is here quarter'd alone) to divert a high pitch of Spleen & Melancholly, engenderd by want of company, and the Sulphureous vapours of a boggy situation' (fol. 216). In the same letter he related how the Irish ladies were well guarded from penniless adventurers like himself, 'so that here I've no prospect of rising [but] by the Scabard, having no other Settlement to Make on any woman, after Death, but the Sword & half-pike; which does not contain Many Acres'.

merit as good officers. But do not choose among them your friends. It can never do you honour and may be of disservice to you.'¹ Henry Fox, the secretary at war, and Lord Albemarle, a general officer of good repute, added their quota of dissuasion. Although his first remarks were directed specifically against Fraser and his men, who had been 'out' in the 'Forty-Five, the duke's latter strictures were delivered at the Scottish nation in general, loyal and disloyal.

The two rebellions were, not unnaturally, the occasion for much suspicion, a great deal of it falling unfairly on the majority of Scotsmen. There is, however, little evidence that they caused many difficulties for Scottish officers by way of obstructing or cutting short their careers without cause, or that they led to any slackening in the flow of Scottish gentlemen into the army. There were certainly no mass removals, although several officers of suspect sympathies were requested to sell out. John Walkinshaw Craufurd, elder son of a Kilmarnock laird, sold his lieutenancy of dragoons in 1746 under pressure from government, so family tradition has it, on account of 'an act of trying friendship' performed at the execution of his friend and neighbour Lord Balmerino for his part in the rebellion.² Incidents of this nature were the inevitable sequel to internal strife and only to be expected.

Yet, although few officers were removed, the taint of Jacobitism in the family could have a retarding effect upon an officer's career. Alexander, fourth earl of Balcarres and his younger brother James, the fifth earl, each served in the army for many years. Their father, Colin, the third earl, had, together with James, been 'out' in the 'Fifteen. Since that time

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm., Bathurst MSS.*, 677-8. Scotsmen were not particularly popular in London, especially during Bute's ministry. Boswell notes in his *London Journal* the bad reception given at a playhouse to two Scottish officers just returned from the West Indies. In disgust, they made the bitter retort, 'This is what we get for capturing the Havannah.' Yet Scots made first-class officers. The letters (1760-62) of Major Robert Preston of the 93rd Regiment (contained in *Bagshawe MSS.*, 2/1) give an insight into the attitude of a professional soldier who took his task seriously. Brigadier John Campbell, previously mentioned, was full of zeal for the service. His regiment had lost a great deal of equipment in one of the great battles in Flanders, whereon he wrote to Sir Andrew Agnew, 'The return of our losses is very distinct. What reparation is to be made I really can't tell, but I am resolved my Regiment shall want for nothing in my power. I leave you and the Major to lay your heads together, and furnish the Battalion with what is necessary for the service' (Agnew, *op. cit.*, ii, 297). This was at his own expense.

² *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1952), 552.

the family had not been suspected of acts or sympathies alien to the Hanoverian succession, yet the shadow of their indiscretion dogged their steps. Alexander had a blameless record, yet he served for close on thirty years without being allowed to get further than a captain and lieutenant-colonel in the Third Guards. James's fate was even harder. Pardoned after the suppression of the rebellion, he became a lieutenant in the Grey Dragoons. When he went to the Continent with his regiment in 1742 he was still a captain at the age of forty-nine. He still had hopes of promotion through distinguishing himself in the campaign, but these were short-lived. After he had distinguished himself at Dettingen his name was mentioned to George II who 'fell into a passion and told the minister that he had occasion to know before, that no person who had ever drawn sword in the Stuart cause should ever rise to command, and that it was best to tell Lord Balcarres so at once';¹ which, being the case, someone should have done so a good deal earlier. James then lost heart completely. He had become, as he told his superiors, 'tired with acting in a low station and unable to bear the drudgeries of it'. He thought having to leave the service to which he was attached 'a hard choice', but, he went on, 'as our family has hitherto produced none but men of worth and honour, I can no longer bear being treated as if I were without either, and drudge on a captain, after having been thirty-seven years an officer, and lived in peace and war without reproach.'²

A little later, James Murray, major of the 15th Regiment and soon to be Wolfe's brigadier at Quebec, was most apprehensive about the damaging effect his brother's Jacobite sympathies might have on his career, and he told his father-in-law that he was 'likely to have the whole punishment of it unless protected by your influence'.³ His marriage to the daughter of Mr Collier, who was mayor of Hastings, a whig prominent in local politics, and a valued ally of the duke of Newcastle, neutralised the ill-effects likely to ensue from his family's proclivities.

The Bagshawe Papers in The John Rylands Library permit a sketch of one of the Scottish officers of the 39th Regiment—David Hepburn, a Lowland Scot, born in 1701. He entered the

¹ A. W. C. Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, ii, 140.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 122, 132.

³ R. H. Mahon, *Life of General James Murray* (1921), 52.

army at the late age of twenty-five, and, after four years service in the ranks, obtained a commission in the 39th in 1730.¹ He served with it for the next thirty-one years, including peace-time soldiering in Ireland and the West Indies, and war-service at L'Orient 1746, on board the fleet during Hawke's victory at Ushant, and in India.

Hepburn was a man whose buoyant spirit was at last quite broken, as much by repeated vexation and disappointment as by age and long service. There is a great contrast between his early and later years. In the 40's 'Old Davy' was beloved by everyone, and he must have been an engaging person. Writing from Portsmouth a brother officer described him as 'by much the greatest bean in this garrison',² and when the 39th served as marines on board the fleet he became 'a great associate of the Navy Folks', Sir Peter Warren taking such a liking to him that he insisted on keeping him on his flagship out of his turn for duty.³ His health, however, became undermined by hard service, and this deterioration and his sensitive personality combined to make him feel his later misfortunes more than he might otherwise have done. Since Hepburn, like many Scots, had little besides his pay and possessed no influential friends other than those he had made during his service, it was inevitable that his promotion would be slow, since he could not afford to purchase in his turn. He accepted this situation, but he was not prepared for the succession of disappointments that beset him when the regiment came back from India in 1758. There was trouble over his succeeding to the majority,⁴ and, when his commanding officer, Samuel Bagshawe, left to raise the 93rd Regiment at the end of 1759, he neither succeeded him as lieutenant-colonel of the 39th nor went with him to be lieutenant-colonel of the new regiment, although it had been discussed.⁵ This left Hepburn extremely peevish. To Bagshawe he wrote, 'I will not take up your time or trouble you at present on my private Account. If my long service and Some Sufferings do not stand me in stead, I am so Absolutely

¹ Bagshawe MSS., 2/4/140.

² Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/190.

³ Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/147 and 2/2/260-1. This involved him in a great deal of unpleasantness with his commanding officer, who felt he should not be allowed to do duty out of turn. Hepburn was extremely sensitive about the dispute.

⁴ Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/266-7.

⁵ A scribbled note on the back of one of Bagshawe's letters, 15/1/29, shows that he was being considered, but Bagshawe had to accept an officer nominated by government.

Friendless that I know of none to whom I can apply with any face. It is a degree of Misfortune to have lived too long and to have survived [one's] Friends and Patrons. I quietly submit to providence, and the pleasure of my Superiors.¹ The final blow came when an office blunder was the occasion of extra delay, anxiety and financial loss after he had arranged the details of his retirement-scheme.² These successive disappointments coming at the close of a life of danger and considerable hardships converted him into a miserable, complaining old man, whose every letter was a recital of his misfortunes. One of his last extant letters paints a sorry self-portrait. 'My health is really very bad, and my Eyesight almost gone, my Spirit quite broke, with both publick & private Ills.'³ This came from a man who was then in the highly responsible position of lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of infantry!

This is not altogether a happy report to give of an eighteenth-century Scottish officer, but it more accurately represents the condition of the improverished majority than would a tale of wealth, success and rapid advancement, to which few Scottish officers had pretensions. It is significant that all but a very few of the Scots who became colonels of regiments were men of social rank and landed property, who were either in politics themselves or had friends in powerful positions. For most Scots a military career would mean following in David Hepburn's footsteps. This fate, though obvious to all, did not deter would-be soldiers from a military life, because there was always the consolation that Fortune, heedless of the claims of nationality, would cast something in their way, and she treated poor Scotsmen no worse than she did poor Englishmen. Political sympathies excluded, it is clear that there were no barriers, other than those which lack of wealth and position placed in every obscure officer's way, to the Scotsmen who played an important part in the officering of the army in early Georgian times.

JAMES HAYES.⁴

¹ Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/270.

² Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/273.

³ Bagshawe MSS., 2/2/272.

⁴ Formerly research student in the University of London.

Documents

A SCHOOLBOY'S LETTER, 1610

IT would surely be true to say that letters written by Scottish schoolboys to their fathers in the early seventeenth century are not by any means commonly found, even in the richest of collections of family papers. The letter of which a transcript and a translation follow was found among the papers of the family of Dundas of Dundas, a collection of great bulk and rich in charters, correspondence and estate papers, now in the National Library of Scotland. The letter, dated 1 March 1610, was written to the then laird of Dundas, Sir Walter, by his son William, progenitor of the family of Dundas of Blair Castle,¹ who was at this time at school in Dunfermline.

Apart from providing an example of the standard of Latin prose achieved by a schoolboy of the time, the letter is interesting also in its subject-matter. It describes the proceedings of a 'speech day' at the school, when recitation and choral singing then, as now, seemed to be prominent activities. It is regrettable that young William does not give more details about the music that was sung, but his references to the precentor, who may also have been the master of the sang-school,² and to the singing of the parts, are interesting in themselves. It is also worth noting that this letter was written just a few months before Queen Anne granted to the burgh of Dunfermline the sum of £2,000 Scots, in return for which the Town Council

¹ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 1846.

² For the uncertainty regarding the scope of the duties of the precentor and the master of the sang school about this period, see James Grant, *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland* (1876), p. 376, and J. M. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife from the Reformation to 1872*, f. 70 (Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1953).

On the subject of sang schools generally, see the article 'Scots Sang Scuills' by H. M. Willsher in *The Scotsman*, 21 March 1953, and the article 'Sang Schuilles, Scottish' by the same author in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (5th ed. 1954).

undertook to pay salaries of £100 to the master of the grammar school and to the master of the sang school.¹

J. S. RITCHIE²

*National Library of Scotland,
Dundas of Dundas Papers*

Desiderio tenebar (reuerendissime pater) diebus his praeteritis epistolium latiali sermone ad te scripsisse: si non impeditus fuisset praeter quotidianas lectiones frequenti lectione orationis illius, quam charissimus meus praeceptor mihi memoria complectendam proposuit: quam quum iam declamauerim applausu tam generosorum qui aderant, quam praefecti nostri, balliuorum et urbanorum ad magnam laudem studiosi nostri praeceptoris, et antiqui ac spectati nostri gymnasii: non diutius moras nectere quini ad te (amantissime pater) scribere, et de utilitate ac progressu illo, quem a discessu meo a te in epistolis conficiendis hausi periculum facere. sed quia fortassis fieri potest (charissime pater) te desiderio flagrare quot discipulorum meorum mecum declamarunt, intelligentiam habere, scias (charissime pater) mecum in primo ordine duos contubernales meos declamasse, georgium meluillum et alexandrum coluillum: et postquam finem orationibus nostris imposuimus, alii tres nobis successerunt, quorum nomina iam silentio praetermitto. quod ad materiam nostrae orationis, quinque primi de laboribus et mercede eorum, qui doctores sunt indomitae iuuentutis, egerunt, quod ad sextum amoenissimum et iucundissimum habebat discursum in laudem musicae ut condiscipulis nostris qui musici sunt introductio esset ad canendum, qui orationibus nostris finitis specimen ediderunt suae peritiae insigni ac lepidissima illa musicae scientia, ita ut suauissimus illorum concentus, iucundissima illorum harmonia, non solum aures audientium permulsit, sed integrum nostrum ludum personare quasi coegit symphoniae cantu. praecentore primum incipiente, reliqui suis partibus sequebantur, tam qui bassum canebat, quam qui tenorem, triplicem, et contra tenorem, tali melodia ut apollo cum nouem musis interfuisse videretur: sed ne epistolii limites excedam, paucis verbis (amantissime pater) serio et ²ex anima te³ rogatum velim ut me excusatum habeas literas meas non tam facundas esse quam aures tuae peritae postulant. Cygnea cantio senioribus expectanda, quam a me (amantissime pater) ubi maturus aevo et firmata virum me fecerit aetas sperare possis: iam mihi persuadeo (reuerende domine) te in bonam

¹ A bond, 24 August 1610, was granted by the Town Council (see Andrew Shearer, *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Dunfermline in 16th and 17th Centuries*).

² Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland.

³⁻³ Added above the line.

partem grammaticalem hunc meum discursum accepturum, cum satis¹ grammatico secundum regulas grammaticales verba facere exploratum mihi est (reuerende pater) me officiose commendatum habebis dominae matri, alexandro fratri natu minimo charissimaeque sorori. Wale.

E paedagogio nostro
fermilodunensi
Calen. martii
1610

Tibi in omnibus natus
Morigerus, immo filius
obsequentissimus gulielmus
dundasius.

[*Translation*]

Dear Father,

During these past few days I wanted to write a letter to you in Latin, but, apart altogether from our daily studies, I was preoccupied with repeated readings of the speech set by my teacher as a piece to be learned by heart. Now that I have declaimed the speech and received the applause of the gentry who were present, to say nothing of our headmaster, the bailies and the townsfolk, gaining glory for our learned teacher and our ancient and distinguished school, I must not delay any longer writing to you and putting to the test the skill and progress I have achieved in letter-writing since I left you.

You may want to know how many of my fellow-pupils declaimed with me. Well, there were two close friends of mine with me in the first row, George Melville and Alexander Colville. Then, after we had finished our speech, another three boys, with whose names I shall not trouble you, took our places. As for our subject-matter, the first five of us spoke about the labours and the rewards which fall to those who teach wild lads like ourselves; the sixth made a most delightful and pleasant speech in praise of music, which served as an introduction to the singing of the musically-minded among us. At the conclusion of our speeches, they (the musically-minded) gave us an example of their skill, and displayed their excellent, highly-developed, technique. The sweet singing of the choir and their delightful harmony not only affected the audience but seemed to make the whole school ring with the sound of their song. The precentor gave the lead, and the rest followed, each with his part—the bass, the tenor, the treble, and the counter-tenor. Such was the melodious sound that you might have thought that Apollo and the nine muses were taking part!

Now I must not make this letter too long, but I should like briefly

¹ A word, or part of a word, added above the line, has been scored through.

to make a request of you, genuinely and in all seriousness. It is that you excuse the fact that my letters are not up to the standard of eloquence your experienced ear demands. The singing of swans is to be expected from older people; you may hope for that from me when I reach maturity and manhood. In the meantime I am sure that you will accept this grammatical exercise of mine in good part. I have at least sufficiently mastered the process of putting words together according to the rules of grammar.

Please remember me most kindly to my mother, my youngest brother Alexander, and my dearest sister. Goodbye.

Your most respectful
and obedient son,
William Dundas.

At School,
Dunfermline.
1 March 1610.

THE SCOTTISH CONSTITUTIONAL OPPOSITION IN 1679

THROUGHOUT the years of his administration Lauderdale faced opposition on two fronts. In Scotland the militant covenanters defied his attempts to enforce religious uniformity. His constitutional opponents, led by Hamilton, concentrated their efforts in London, where in the attempt to force Lauderdale's dismissal they repeatedly closeted the King and encouraged attacks in Parliament. In doing so they formed a working alliance with the chief English opponents of the Court—Shaftesbury and his lieutenants who led the 'country opposition' in the commons.

As at most times during the century, the key to Scottish affairs lay in the balance of English political forces. The attempts made, at both Whitehall and Westminster, in 1673, 1675 and 1678, all failed because of the strength and influence of Lauderdale's English associates.¹ But at the end of 1678 the Popish Plot and Montagu's disclosures ruined these associates. Charles found it expedient to send his brother James into temporary exile. Threatened with impeachment, Danby disappeared into the Tower. Parliament was dissolved. The

¹ Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1769; ii, 237-44, 372-3, 413-4. iii, 24-33, 210-7. v, 358-82. *Lauderdale Papers* (ed. O. Airy, Camden Society, 1885), iii, 18-20, 120-2.

elections produced a majority of members ready to follow Shaftesbury's leadership, and soon he was to become the Lord President of a reconstituted Privy Council.

These changes encouraged Lauderdale's enemies to renew their applications to Shaftesbury as an old associate, now in a position decisively to influence Charles against his Scottish minister. As in the past they sent advice and information on Scottish affairs. Among them was an anonymous correspondent who, in anticipation of Lauderdale's fall, sent Shaftesbury a list of 'instruments for the worke', that is the names of those fit to take office after the necessary purge of the present holders had been effected. This list throws light on the composition and objectives of the constitutional—as distinct from the extreme covenanting—opposition, at the beginning of a critical year. As such it is largely self-explanatory. The compiler was obviously a moderate presbyterian and an earnest constitutionalist. One significant omission from the list should, however, be noted; there is no mention of Argyll or his closest associates.

J. R. JONES¹

P.R.O., Shaftesbury Papers, vi b, 428.

Instruments for the Worke

Of lawyers, with us called advocates, these are the cheif as in order,

- 1 Mr Walter Pringle; a good countryman; to church indifferent; a freind to England; scruples not the declaration.
- 2 Mr James Daes; a good countryman; to church indifferent; a freind to England; takes not the declaration.
- 3 Mr David Hume; as the 2d.
- 4 Sr Geo Lockhart; as the 1st.
- 5 Sr John Cuninghame as the 1st and episcopal.
- 6 James Stuart; as the 2d but I know not how affected to England.

Sr John Harper as the 1st but presbyterian, changable of late. If these wer to be considered qua lawyers, they would be otherwise ranked.

Note. The Erle of Crawford is our present Chancellares brother in Law, I wish he had his office; the Erle of Hadington is the Chancellares son in law. The Lord Cochrane is the E of Dundonald's son.

I mention the Peers by themselves, the gentlemen by themselves, and each in such order as my opinion prefers them for publicke spirits and well affected to government, and I thinke I erre not.

¹ Lecturer in Modern History, King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

- 1 The Erle of Crauford and Lindsay a good countreyman, Presbiterian, great freind to England, never tooke the declaration nor will.
- 2 Erle of Lowdon as the other in all mentioned.
- 3 The Lord Cardross as the first but once tooke the declaration and will not againe.
- 4 Lord Melvill as the first.
- 5 Erle of Forfar, as the first.
- 6 Erle of Tarras, as the first.
- 7 Lord Carmichale, as the first.
- 8 D of Hamilton, a good countreyman, indifferent anent church government, not much concerned in England, takes the declaration.
- 9 E of Finlaterre as the third, but not much concerned in England.
- 10 E of Cassils a good countreyman, presbiterian, freind to England, has taken the declaration and I suppose will againe.
- 11 E of Callender as the third, but not concerned in England, and I knowe not if he wil still declare.
- 12 Viscount Kenmore as the third but inconcerned as to England.
- 13 L Strathnaver as the first.
- 14 Vt Arbuthnot as the 12th.
- 15 E of Perth a good countreyman highly Episcopal, freind of England, takes the declaration.
- 16 E of Hadington as the 10th much at D Hamilton's Disposall.
- 17 E of Lothian as the Eight.
- 18 Ld Cochrane as the 8t likewise.
- 19 E of Southesk as the 8t.
- 20 E of Dumfreese as the 15th.
- 21 E of Tweedale as the 8t selfish and plyant.
- 22 E of Queensberry as the 21st.
- 23 Ms of Atholl as the 15th.
- 24 E of Kincardan as the 8t.
- 25 L Yester as the 8t at Tweedale's dispose.
- 26 E Rosebrugh young, I cannot say what, at Tweedale's dispose too.
- 27 L Torfichane as the 10th but inconcerned as to England.
- 28 L Blantyre as the 27th.
- 29 L Bargony as the 27th.
- 30 L Jedburgh as the 15th but inconcerned as to England.
- 31 L Ruthven as the 1st; young and I know not how affected to England.

As for the Marq of Montrose I can say nothing of common knowledge and I doubt the information I have; you will not I think have mention of other peers then these as recommended to publicke trust or office; els the mentioner will erre.

The best men of our present Bishopes are

Dr Young late of Edinburgh now B of¹

Dr Ramsay B of Dumblane.

Wee have many good gentlemen I shall name only a few I looke on fittest beyond doubt to choose of and of whom you are likliest to hear; preferable by my opinion according to their order in this List.

- 1 Sr James Dundass of Armiston, a good countreyman; presbiterian; a great freind to England; never took our declaration nor will.
- 2 Sr Robert Montgomery of Skelmorley; just such another.
- 3 Patrick Craufurd alias Lindsey of Kilburney as the 1st.
- 4 Sr William Carre of Greenhead; as the 1st; once tooke the declaration, will not now.
- 5 Sr Patrick Houston of Houston; a good countreyman; presbiterian a freind to England; takes declarat.
- 6 Sr William Scot of Harden senior; as the 1st.
- 7 John Rutherford of Edgarston; as the 4th.
- 8 Sr Hugh Cambel of Cesnock; as the 1st; concerned as to Engl.
- 9 John Maxwel of Pollock as the 1st.
- 10 James Hay of Parke as the 1st.
- 11 Robert Bailye of Jerveswood as the 1st.
- 12 Cromwel Lockhart of Lee; a good countreyman esteemd but I know him not well.
- 13 John Hope of Hopton, as 1st.
- 14 lieutenant general Drumond as the 5th but concerned of England.
- 15 Sr Charles Halket of Pitfirrane a good countreyman; to church government indifferent; frend to England; takes the declaration.
- 16 Andrew Fletcher of Salton; as 15th.
- 17 Adam Cockburne of Ormiston; as 15th.
- 18 Sr David Carnagy of Pittarro; as 15th.
- 19 John Napeir of Kilmahow; as 4t.
- 20 Sr John Shaw of Greenock; as 4t.
- 21 Lewes Craige of Ricarton; as 4t.
- 22 Sr Patrick Murray; a good countreyman; Episcopall; unconcerned of England; takes the declaration; at Tweeddale's dispose.
- 23 Sr William Bruce of Balcasky as the 22d; at the Chancellares disposall.

¹ A blank which occurs in the manuscript gives an indication of the date at which this list was drafted. The congé d'elire for Young's election as Bishop of Ross was issued on 24 January 1679 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1679-80*, p. 52).

- 24 Sr Alexander Bruce of Broomhall as the 22d; at Kincarden's dispose.
- 25 Sr Alexander Primrose of Carrington; as the 15th but inconcerned of Engl; not steedfast of late.
- 26 Sr Peter Wadderburne of Gosford as the 25th in omnibus.
- 27 Sr John Lockhart of Castlehill, as the 15th.
- 28 Sr John Cochrane of Ochiltree, as the 15th.
- 29 Sr Archibald Murray of Blackbarerry as the 22d, at Tweeddale's dispose.
- 30 Alexander Monro of Bearcraft as the 15th; disposed by Sr Alexander primrose his patron and Kinsman.

These I assure you to be such as I truste and I think you will not heare of others but truly wee have many good men of gentry.

Reviews

ROYAL AND ANCIENT¹

IN his charming Foreword to this charming volume, Mr Bernard Darwin truly remarks that 'St. Andrews is a shrine for pilgrims from the whole golfing world'. The cult of golf has indeed become so world-wide, and St. Andrews is so freely accepted as its headquarters, that this *Story of the R. & A.* is likely to take its place not merely in the annals of sport but as a significant contribution to the social side of Scottish history.

There may be argument whether 'the golf'—golfe, goff, gouff, gowff—originated independently on the seaside links of Scotland or was an import from Holland; but it is certainly an 'Ancient' game that early attracted 'Royal' attention and acquired not only royal approval but a Scottish national character. Nor can there be any doubt that golf has been one of the three exports from Scotland that have contributed most to the spread of the Scottish spirit and to the gaiety of nations.

Dr Salmond's first two chapters provide the necessary historical background for the foundation of the famous Club. Pride of place is accorded to that 'Ancient Architect' Nature's contribution in forming the St. Andrews Links, with a succinct account of the evolution of the Old Course, illustrated by two fascinating plans. Chalmer's Plan of 1836 shows that by that date the original eleven 'holes',² said to have been played out and back again to constitute a 'round' of twenty-two, had been reduced to the regulation nine, also played each way: Hodge's Plan of 1875 shows the same essentials, but with double holes on eight of the ten greens, an improvement first suggested in 1832 to facilitate the 'round' of eighteen holes. Here is the explanation of the characteristic, immense double greens of the Old Course—that of the 'Hole o'Cross' (5th & 13th) reputed the largest green in the world—the admiration and not infrequently the despair of generations of visiting golfers.

The antiquity of golf in Scotland is obscure, but from Parliamentary

¹ *The Story of the R. & A.: being the history of the first two hundred years of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews.* By J. B. Salmond. With a Foreword by Bernard Darwin. Pp. xvi, 256; 20 plates (4 coloured); 2 plans. London: Macmillan. 1956. 28s.

² The position of two of the holes is doubtful, but they were probably in the region where now stands the Martyrs' Memorial.

enactments it appears to have become a popular pastime in the fifteenth century. The act of 1457/8¹ is generally mentioned in histories of the game, and Dr Salmond remarks that 'it is strange that the first Royal connection with it is an attempt by a King of Scots to ban it. Our James the Second evidently felt that National Service was more important than National Sport.' Here we should note, however, that Robert Clark,² a member of the R. & A. to whom our author expresses his indebtedness for the collection of historical references in his pioneer volume, *Golf, a Royal and Ancient Game* (1875), calls attention to the fact that a similar enactment of James I in 1424,³ while discouraging the game of football, makes no mention of golf, from which he concludes that golf was probably 'introduced' into Scotland 'about the beginning of the fifteenth century' and that certainly it had become 'a very general amusement' by the time of James II.

Dr Salmond then records briefly the evidence for the interest of successive Scottish sovereigns in golf—the re-enactment of prohibition by James III⁴ (1471) and by James IV⁵ (1491), who nevertheless took up the 'sport' himself and indeed found it 'unprofitable'; and so, with a considerable hiatus in the time of the 'less-sporting Georges', until William IV became Patron of the R. & A. in 1834. In addition to his traditional part in the foundation of the Blackheath Club in 1608,⁷ there are several records of the interest of James VI and I in golf,⁸ though none of his actual participation; and it seems

¹ 'It is decretyt and ordanyt that wapinschawingis be halidin be the lordis ande baronys spirituale and temporale four tymis in the yere And at the fut ball and the golf be utterly cryt doune and nocht usyt Ande at the bowe merkis be maide at ilk parroch kirk a paire of buttis and schuting be usyt ilk sunday' (*A.P.S.*, ii, 48, c. 6).

² Founder of the firm of R. & R. Clark, and himself an ardent golfer of whom the story is told that he had done a hole in one and lost it!

³ 'It is statut and the King forbiddis that na man play at the fut ball under the payne of iiij d . . . ' (*A.P.S.*, ii, 5, c. 18).

⁴ 'It is thoct expedient . . . at the futbal & golf be abusit in tym cummyng & the buttis maid up & schuting usit' (*A.P.S.*, ii, 100, c. 6).

⁵ 'And attour that in na place of the Realme be usit fut bawis gouff or uthir sik unprofitable sportis . . . ' (*A.P.S.*, ii, 226, c. 13).

⁶ Witness the entry in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, 3 February 1503/4: 'Item to the King to play at the Golf with the Erle of Bothuile, xlii s.'—from which it appears that the Earl had been foolish enough to win the match—and subsequent items for 'Golf Clubbis and Ballis to the King'.

⁷ Doubtless the real founders of this famous Club—the earliest of which there is authentic record in either Kingdom—would be Scottish golfing enthusiasts at the head of the King's long Scottish wake.

⁸ In 1603 he had appointed William Mayne 'bower burges of Edinburgh during all the dayis of his lyf tyme . . . club-maker . . . to his Hienes' (*R.S.S.*, lxxiii, f. 234), and in 1618, on his return from his visit to Scotland, he granted a monopoly of ball-manufacture to a James Melvill and others, in order to stop the import of 'featheries' from Holland. The balls made by Melvill had to be marked with an identifying stamp and their maximum price was fixed at 'four

that the House of Stewart may even have been instrumental in the spread of the Scottish national game to the continent of Europe, for Dr Salmond mentions a report by Lord Elcho¹ that he had seen Prince Charles Edward and his brother Henry golfing at Rome in 1738!

The Story proper begins on 14 May 1754, when twenty-two gentlemen—Fife Noblemen and Lairds, Professors in the University, City Fathers of St. Andrews—formed themselves, in a rather indirect manner, into 'The Society of St. Andrews Golfers'. The first official use of that title does not occur, however, until 1770, and the significant points in the proceedings and arrangements recorded in the first Minute Book appear to be that the original object of the foundation was simply the institution of a competition for a Silver Club as a golfing trophy *open to any golfer from any part of Great Britain or Ireland*, and that, as appears later from Rule 9, *'the Victor Shall be called Captain of the Golf'*. Herein lies the germ of the universal appeal of what was to become the premier Golf Club of the world, though preceded in its foundation, as thus recorded, by at least two others—the Blackheath Club already mentioned and the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers in 1744.

The St. Andrews golfers having extended a special invitation to the Edinburgh golfers to take part in the competition for the Silver Club,² it is noteworthy that the regulations for the contest, though much more detailed, are obviously based on the similar regulations of the the Honourable Company for *their* Silver Club Competition in 1744, and that the 'Articles and Laws in Playing the Golf', which appear on page 2 of the Minute Book, are taken directly from the 1744 Edinburgh code with only one minor exception. Here again is the origin of the 'Rules of Golf', formulated first by the Honourable Company of Edinburgh, taken over almost verbatim by St. Andrews, to be elaborated many times later by the 'Rules of Golf Committee', appointed by the R. & A., whose writ now runs throughout the golfers' world.

All this being so, the question then arises how was it that the 'Royal and Ancient'—a title not assumed until 1834—came to be recognised as the premier club with legislative powers freely accepted by all other golf clubs wherever the game is played? Robert Clark³ suggests a number of reasons, the chief being the ancient prestige of

schilling money of this realme'. Naturally, too, there was, in slightly more modern phrase, a 'rake-off' of fifty per cent for 'his Hienes': 'the ane half of the benefite arysing theirby to come to our Souerane Lordis use' (*R.S.S.*, lxxxvii, f. 169).

¹ David (1721-87), son of the 4th Earl of Wemyss, took part in the 'Forty-Five and was attainted, the estate passing to his younger brother James and the title left dormant on the death of his father until 1826.

² Minutes of the Honourable Company, Leith, 9 March 1754.

³ Loc. cit.

St. Andrews itself—'the old Ecclesiastical Metropolis of Scotland'—and its unrivalled links. Thus St. Andrews was peculiarly fitted to be the home of a club representing the national game of Scotland, and for the same reasons—the attractions of the place and the links—golfers from all parts of the kingdom aspired to its membership.

The advance of the Club to its premier position seems, however, to have come about almost imperceptibly, but two of the obvious landmarks are the first mention of a 'Golf House'¹ (1766) and the more important event of 1834, eighty years after the foundation of the 'Society', when His Majesty King William IV, granting his royal permission and authority that 'it should be in future styled "The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews"', became its Patron. With this seal of royal approval, and destined to be the acknowledged headquarters of a world-wide sodality, it was peculiarly appropriate that it should thus adopt the name that primarily belongs to the 'royal and ancient' game. This royal patronage—perpetuated by the 'King William Medal'² and the 'Royal Adelaide Medal'³—has been continued by successive sovereigns, and it may be of some special interest to many golfers that Signor Annigoni's magnificent portrait of Queen Elizabeth, now patron of the R. & A., adorns this volume as frontispiece.⁴

Although what appears to be the first document with reference to the Links of St. Andrews (that is, the sandy flat ground, with bent and whin, by the west sands of the bay) is dated 1552,⁵ there can be no doubt that golf had then been played in Scotland, and presumably on these links at St. Andrews, for more than a century. It is tempting to conclude that the foundation of the University in 1412 may have been a contributing factor so far as that city and its links are con-

¹ There is no record where this original 'Golf House'—Dr Salmond's 'First Nineteenth Hole'—was situated.

² Presented by the Royal Patron in 1837 and soon to be reckoned, according to Robert Clark (*loc. cit.*), the 'blue ribbon of golf'—though in fact the riband attached to the original medal was green!

³ Presented by the Queen Dowager as Patroness in 1838, and worn by the Captain on official occasions. In 1841 it was agreed that this medal should be 'played for', and the custom of the elected Captain thus 'playing himself in' at the Autumn Meeting became established; and in 1854, the centenary of the Foundation, the 'small piece of ordnance' was purchased that still takes its spectacular part in the ceremony, its 'big bang' timed to coincide with the impact of the Captain's club on his ball.

⁴ The artist, having revived with striking effect the tradition of landscape background for portraiture, has included a small boat on a piece of water in the middle distance. The portrait having been commissioned by the Fishmongers Company, it is to be understood that the occupant is a fisherman and, since enthusiasm for golf and addiction to angling often go together, there may well be many readers who will appreciate Signor Annigoni's rather quaint conceit.

⁵ 'Licence to Archbishop Hamilton to plant "cunninggis" (rabbits) in the Links and Ratification by him of the City's rights as regards the Links' (25 January 1552).

cerned. The influx of young students—they were very young in those days—would necessarily bring with it an urge for sport and recreation:

Proximus est campus, studiis hic fessa juvenus
Se recreat, vires sumit et inde novas.¹

Student diaries and accounts do not seem to be available for the earlier days of the University, but such no doubt was the case with James Melvill (age fifteen) in 1571, Montrose (James Graham, age fifteen) in 1627, Lord Murray, whose accounts including items for clubs and balls were sent home to Atholl in 1676, and with the twin sons (age twelve) of John Mackenzie of Delvine, of whose expenses for golf Professor Dickinson gives us more details in his *Two Students at St. Andrews, 1711-1716*.² Of special interest perhaps is the letter from the twins' tutor, dated 9 March 1713, in which he reports his frequent failure to find the Professor of Mathematicks (Charles Gregory) at home at 5 o'clock. The professor did not fail to attend punctually to give his lesson 'betwixt 9 & 10 beforenoon . . . but since the day became longer, the Masters of the University are frequently out at the golf in the afternoon'—a very pleasing sidelight on the amenities of St. Andrews academic life which, it is to be hoped, is in no danger of being extinguished.

Already in 1691, in a letter from Alexander Monro, a Regent in the University, to the father of the Mackenzie twins,³ St. Andrews had been described as 'the Metropolis of Golfing', a designation used again by Hay Fleming⁴ in 1893; and it may be that the expression 'the interest and prosperity of the Ancient City of St. Andrews, *the Alma Mater of the Golf*', twice used in the early Minutes of the 'Society' that became the R. & A., owed its origin to academic associations. Certainly members of the University have maintained throughout the years their allegiance to the royal and ancient game. Two of the Founder Members of the Club were professors in the University—David Young, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and his brother John, Professor of Moral Philosophy. Moreover, at least ten other founders (of whom seven had won the University Silver Arrow for archery), and others who soon joined as members, were associated with the University. Dr George Forrest,

¹ 'The Links are close by; 'tis there Youth wearied with studies finds recreation, and gathers a new stock of strength.' (Quoted by Dr Salmund from Professor Knight's translation of Arthur Johnston's 'Andreapolis' in his *Poemata Omnia* (1642) and printed in *Andreapolis: being Writings in Praise of St. Andrews*. Edinburgh, 1903).

² St. Andrews University Publications, No. L. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. 1952.

³ Dickinson, loc. cit.

⁴ *Historical Notes and Extracts Concerning the Links of St. Andrews, 1552-1893*.

Professor of Civil History, won the Silver Club in 1769 and thus became 'the only Professor in the University who was ever Captain of the Club while in his Chair'; and the records of other prize-winners and the lists of members attest the continuous and continuing interest of academic golfers, culminating in the services rendered by Dr Salmond himself in the affairs of the R. & A. and by his publication of this history.

What proportion of the students of the University throughout the long years have obtained part of their education for life on the Links of St. Andrews it would be hard to say¹; nor should it be forgotten that one of them, A. Gordon Barry, became Amateur Champion in 1905 at the age of nineteen.

It appears also that the University was responsible for initiating the movement that led ultimately to the building of the present home of the Royal and Ancient Club. In 1834, professors and others had established a new Archery Club,² and the following year saw the opening of the 'Union Club' to provide a more convenient home than the old 'Golf House' for the 'Accommodation of the Golfers and Archers'. Negotiations with the R. & A. followed, and in the centenary year of its foundation the present Club House was ready for occupation. For more than twenty years, however, it was known as 'The Union Club', members of the R. & A. being more or less automatically members of both, until, in 1877, the 'Union' was finally merged in the 'Royal and Ancient' which became the sole designation of the amalgamated clubs.

The relations between the R. & A. and the Town Council of St. Andrews, the negotiations for the purchase of the Links by the Club, the transfer of ownership to the Town, the formation of the joint 'Green Committee of St. Andrews Links', the lay-out of the 'New Course' by the Club, the formation of the 'Eden Course' and the development of the 'Jubilee Course' by the Council are all dealt with in Dr Salmond's chapter 'Links and Laws', which includes also an account of the early negotiations for the appointment of the 'Rules of Golf Committee'. That Committee, with its power to co-opt non-members of the Club and its policy of consultation with delegates of other Golfing Associations at home and abroad, resulting in the

¹ 'But golf is in itself an education. It is an education of the highest value. . . . There are few more perfect systems of gymnastic for mind and body than the game of golf' (Professor Meiklejohn in his *Life of Dr Bell* (1881), quoted in *Andreapolis: being Writings in Praise of St. Andrews*. Edinburgh, 1903).

² There is a curious association of dates in the history of archery and golf at St. Andrews, which suggests the close relation of the University to both. The last competition for the University Silver Arrow, instituted at least as early as 1618, had for some unknown reason taken place in the very year of the foundation of 'The Society of St. Andrews Golfers', and the formation of the new Archery Club coincided with the adoption of the title 'Royal and Ancient' for the Golf Club. The new Silver Arrow was won by University professors in the first three years of the new Club.

issue of a unified Code of Rules acceptable throughout the world, has clearly been the principal factor in the recognition of the R. & A. as the 'Headquarters of Golf'.¹

It remains only to note that throughout the book there is a great variety of informative and entertaining detail that must surely appeal to all golfers: the trophies of the Club—illustrated in two of the plates; the story of the golfer's uniform—how much less colourful are our links since the regulation red coat is no longer seen; the evolution of clubs and of balls—featheries, guttas, rubbercores; remarks on the 'stymie' abolished in the Unified Code of Rules, 1951-52, as a concession to American opinion; regulations for caddies; anecdotes of famous matches and famous players, including the 'professionals' Allan Ramsay—'the greatest golfer of his time'—and the Morrisises, 'Old Tom' and 'Young Tom', a treasured possession of the Club being the 'Championship Belt' won outright by Young Tom by his victories in 1868-69-70.

The records of distinguished visitors to the Club and the admission of Honorary Members on great occasions emphasise the relation of the Club to the spread of golf overseas and its international status. On the occasion of the 'birthday party' of the Club in May 1954 the first Commonwealth Tournament was staged on the Old Course; but the story of cordial American relations with the Club, associated with the phenomenal popularity of golf in the United States and later reflected in the deliberations of the Rules of Golf Committee, is the most fascinating. In 1904 the first of a long series of formidable American competitors and winners of our Amateur and Open Championships was welcomed in the person of Mr Walter J. Travis, whose devastating use of a 'Schenectady' putter provided the occasion for a great argument about the type of club that might be authorised.² And so to the Honorary Membership conferred on General Dwight D. Eisenhower (with numerous other Allied Commanders) in July 1945, on Mr Francis Ouimet, Captain of the American Walker Cup team in March 1947, and the crowning event of Mr Ouimet's election as the first American Captain of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews in 1951, rightly said by Dr Salmond to have 'forged a link of inestimable value between the two great English-speaking nations'.³

¹ It seems odd, by the way, that the Club, thus recognised as the governing body of Golf, has never adopted a Patron Saint, though the obviously appropriate saint is locally available!

² The golfing feats of the phenomenal 'Bobby' Jones, whose unique record of winning all four major Championships (British and American Amateur and Open) in the same year (1930) is never likely to be equalled, are not here detailed; but there is a good story in Dr Salmond's lighter vein of an American lady's testimonial to 'a re-markably fine course for such a small town' as 'Bobby' holed-out on the last green!

³ As it seems to be the ambition of every American golfer to play on the Old

It is only fitting that the Old Course with which the book opens as the *fons et origo* of the whole 'Story' should also have the final word. Dr Salmond modestly conceals the authorship of the poem 'From the Big Room Window' that appears as a prologue to his volume and of the few lines (with apologies to Kipling) that precede Sir Guy Campbell's 'The Old Course Speaks' with which it concludes. The Old Course, first and last; and Dr Salmond, from his opening drive 'Far and Sure' down his first fairway to his final putt on his last green, has furnished us with a memorable tribute 'To the Glory of the Game'.¹

J. C. BRASH.²

JARLSHOF³

THE publication of this book is a matter of moment not only for the information it contains about the prehistory and early history of a part of Shetland but also for the evidence it provides on the origins and interrelationship of various early peoples throughout a wide area. For here at Sumburgh is an accumulation of ruins and relics which represent records of successive immigrations and settlements made over thirty centuries, three-quarters of the whole of the time during which mankind has lived in this part of the world. The book consists of an introductory summary followed by an account of each period of occupation as found by the excavations which have been carried out intermittently over the last fifty years, and the Appendices include an interesting discussion on what form the now vanished upper parts of certain drystone buildings may originally have taken.

The remains of the earliest occupation are those of a small community of Stone Age people who probably came from Orkney and who formed, from early in the second millennium B.C., a small part of the considerable population of Shetland whose more spectacular remains have recently been revealed by Mr C. S. T. Calder. It is probable that at this time, as at later periods, sea communications

Course, we may perhaps adapt the well-known remark about good Americans and Paris and suggest that good American golfers—no reference to handicap—when they die go to St. Andrews to play all day in the Elysian Fields and talk about it all night in the Heavenly Royal and Ancient!

¹ An Appendix lists the Captains of the Royal and Ancient from 1754 to 1954. The illustrations, including fine coloured plates, are of high quality; there is a useful if not impeccable index; and the reviewer has detected only one slightly awkward misprint, where on page 30 '1745' should read '1754'.

² Professor J. C. Brash was Professor Emeritus of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh. We record, with regret, his death which occurred shortly after writing this review. With regret, too, we record the death of Dr J. B. Salmond which occurred a few weeks later.

³ *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland.* By J. R. C. Hamilton. Pp. xiv, 228. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1956. 23 3s.

were kept up more or less continuously between islands and mainland here as in the rest of Britain. The colonisation of Shetland, in particular, presupposes a high degree of experience both in boat-building and in navigation; for from whatever direction it is attempted, the passage demands mastery of strong currents and Atlantic weather.

The next settlement at Sumburgh followed a gap of unknown length during which sand blew over the earlier remains. It consisted of a village of low, curvilinear 'courtyard' houses of Late Bronze Age type among which relics were found that are shown to indicate ancestry in the Hebrides and Orkney. The presence of steatite bowls of Shetland origin in Orkney proves that, once established, Late Bronze Age oversea communications were maintained. After an interesting account of the establishment within the settlement of an Irish bronzesmith who relied on imported tin for making his alloys, the report proceeds to the introduction of iron and of iron-using peoples.

The appearance of the settlement was soon radically altered by the construction of a broch measuring 65 feet in external diameter and possibly standing to a height of about 40 feet, to one side of which was attached a courtyard wall at least 10 feet high enclosing an area of about 4,000 square feet. One of the more pleasing features of Mr Hamilton's book is the use of reconstructed views of the various buildings which were erected at Sumburgh from this period onwards. The treatment of the top of the broch (Fig. 24) may not please every fancy, but may be as good a guess as any. But the statement in the introduction (p. 4) implying that brochs were built in relationship to the sea and that they reflected in a special way unsettled conditions and the dangers of invasion, piracy and the slave trade calls for further comment.

Lord Cooper stated, as has been recorded in this *Review*, that not very much of significance for the history of Scotland occurred more than 500 feet above Mean Tide Level. While the student of prehistoric and protohistoric times may know of many exceptions to this dogma, the germ lies in the fact that most people, at all ages, have had to live where the land could support them. It so happens that in the main broch area—Caithness, Sutherland and the Northern and Western Isles—much of the workable land lies near the sea because the hinterland soon rises to barren wastes. . . . But a considerable amount of usable land also exists along river valleys and in upland glens, and a glance at a distribution map of brochs (such as Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland* (1935), 274) shows at once that a high proportion of brochs lies away from the sea, especially on the mainland where there is more room. In the area in which brochs were used their distribution is, of course, closely similar to that of farmsteads today, for the broch was the dwelling of a family or group of

families who subsisted, as was usual before the comparatively recent development of trade in foodstuffs, upon what they could grow, rear and catch for themselves.

It is sad, too, to see the slave trade cropping up again here in connection with brochs. The origins of this myth may lie at some time earlier than that of the excavation of the broch at Aikerness twenty-five years ago, but even if it does its age, or its repetition three times over, should not be allowed to preserve it. A broch is a strong round house used by farmers or fishermen-crofters, and surely nothing more. The exaggerated defensive strength of its walls can be compared with that of other contemporary structures built by different peoples, in particular the duns of the southwest. These structures may have a wall up to 20 feet in thickness enclosing an area of only a little more in diameter. The reason for this development of defensive strength lies in the general badness of the times in the Scottish Iron Age. Houses had to be strong (though they didn't necessarily have to be high) wherever they were built. The broch is one type of strong house, and there is no warrant for perpetuating a misleading emphasis on its position with regard to the sea or its peculiar suitability above all other houses as a defence against pirates or slavers. There is no evidence that either of these menaces was in general more rife in any particular part of the country in the first century A.D. than in any other, especially outside the areas in which Roman soldiers might be met. One excursion of the *Classis Britannica* did not make a slavers' paradise. The Sumburgh broch is one of about 100 in Shetland, of about 600 known altogether. Brochs owe their preservation, and their prominence on distribution maps, to the substantial character of their ruins. The construction of brochs seems to have lasted for only a comparatively short period—possibly not more than 200 years at most: invasion, piracy or slave-trading may have continued on into and beyond the Dark Ages or Early Christian times.

The broch was followed by the aisled round house, the wheel-house and the passage-house, and Iron Age Sumburgh continued into the Early Christian period. Early in the ninth century, however, probably after it had again been abandoned, the site was occupied by Viking settlers. The excavation and interpretation of this settlement and its successors in Late Norse times form a brilliant and fascinating account which fills half the book. Viking houses, although once presumably common enough in the north and west of Scotland, are rarely found because their ruins are insubstantial and unmarked on the surface of the ground. Such a one, for example, discovered and excavated in 1956 on South Uist by Mr A. MacLaren, was the first to be recorded in an area where once they were doubtless plentiful. It is all the more valuable, therefore, that the Sumburgh houses, which represent 500 years of occupation, should have been treated so

fully. The small finds are beautifully drawn and form an invaluable basis for dating purposes.

There follows a mediaeval farmstead, and then the long story ends with the Old House of Sumburgh, called 'Jarlshof' by Scott in *The Pirate* and so called ever since.

Most of the illustrations are marred by ugly and disproportionate lettering and many of them are inadequately numbered. Apart from this, however, the book sets a standard which will not easily be equalled in the series of which it forms a masterly beginning.

R. W. FEACHEM.¹

FEUDAL BRITAIN²

ACADEMIC historians have often complained about the inadequacies of 'the text-book'; but too few of them have tried to write one. Mr Barrow's work should therefore receive a special welcome, since he has produced a 'survey which, while based as closely as possible on the original sources together with the best from past research, and using a representative portion of the huge mass of current research, nevertheless attempts to cover a longer period in smaller compass and with greater emphasis on the most important themes'. This book provides an admirable introduction for the senior school pupil, the junior undergraduate, or the general reader seeking a preliminary study of the early Middle Ages; and the professional historian too will find in it many interesting ideas. The material is well arranged, the style is clear, if at times rather distant, and careful and accurate explanations are given of terms likely to be unfamiliar to the newcomer. A bibliography, an adequate index and ten useful maps are provided. (Unfortunately, an interesting map of 'The Feudal Kingdom of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century' is rather crowded in places.)

This, however, is not all; for the book 'is not a history of England with a few chapters on the Celtic fringe thrown in', but is an attempt 'to narrate the development of England from 1066 to 1307, of Scotland from 1058 to 1314, and of Wales in the thirteenth century, in as full a manner as possible, and in relative proportion'. Of twenty-one chapters, four are devoted to Scotland. This is a new approach to the national histories of Britain and a good one. Parochialism in historical studies has been with us for too long. The history of each country here casts light on that of the others; and

¹ Principal Investigator, Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland.

² *Feudal Britain*. By G. W. S. Barrow. Pp. 452. London: Arnold. 1956. 25s.

one hopes that readers on both sides of the Border, especially teachers, will treat this book as a whole, without 'skipping' the parts which concern another country. The present reviewer proposes to concentrate on the four Scottish chapters, not because the remainder can be neglected, but in order to comment more fully on some of the many valuable things which Mr Barrow has to say about feudal Scotland.

A chapter on 'The emergence of Scotland, 1058-1124' describes the entry of the country into the main stream of western European history. A survey of its political divisions in the eleventh century emphasises, for example, that Lothian was not a completely Germanic intrusion into purely Celtic territory. The evidence of personal and place names has here enabled a truer picture to be drawn than that given by maps showing rigid boundaries. The government of these diverse regions is well described and valuable comments here, and in a later chapter, on the Scottish thanes should remind us of the importance of these officers. Malcolm III receives rather harsh treatment and is condemned for his aggressive policy towards England. To Queen Margaret, however, is ascribed a considerable influence for good in the Scottish church and state. It is certainly difficult to decide how to use the evidence of Turgot's eulogy; but it is fair to note that many of her reforms were minor ones and that, so far as we know, she did not tackle larger problems such as that of the lay ownership of former ecclesiastical lands.¹ It is unfortunate that the Scottish church in the eleventh century has to be dismissed as 'hardly an organised institution'. Perhaps further research into the admittedly scanty sources may in time enable us to view it in a more kindly light.

There follows an excellent chapter on David I. The coming of Norman and feudal influences has always been looked upon as a landmark; but Mr Barrow is surely right to be rather less lavish with praise of the newcomers than was the late R. L. Graeme Ritchie. 'In 1153 Anglo-Normans formed a minority among landowners, none of them held earl's rank and in Scotia (except for Moray) they were scarcely to be found at all.' The feudalising of the native magnates is discussed—a social change which must have been just as important in some areas as the arrival of new men from the south.

Chapter XV, 'Scotland: the feudal kingdom, 1153-1286', deals with social and economic life, the church, and political developments. New ground is broken here and there is a courageous attempt to describe the classes of society—peasants, lesser free men, barons and nobles. It is a basic truth, seldom stated by previous historians, that 'the typical Scots baron was poorer than his English namesake, but he was a military tenant-in-chief of the crown and he also stood closer to the common people of the land'. The 'feudal system' in

¹ See Joseph Robertson, *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals* (1891), 28.

Scotland is depicted as a working social order, not merely as an ideal set of rules borrowed from England.

The final chapter of the book deals with 'The Anglo-Scottish War', a difficult subject which is presented with clarity and fairness. The paragraphs on the causes of the war and the reasons for English failure are particularly valuable. Nevertheless, some points of detail in the account of events in 1291-2 may ultimately require amendment, since Professor Stones has now shown that our knowledge of the 'Great Cause' has hitherto been based on insufficient study of the sources.¹

Revision of the general picture must follow as further research is done and Mr Barrow's perspicacious survey touches many topics which still require detailed study. More work is needed on Scotland before the Normans; and on the question of why the Scottish barons tended to support the crown in crises such as the minority of Alexander III (p. 250). A full and accurate history of the War of Independence, based on the manuscript sources, has yet to be written. Mr Barrow's careful work will be amply rewarded if his book gains the wide publicity which it deserves and also stimulates other historians to work out his suggestions; for he has not only produced a good text-book—he has also given Scottish mediaevalists much to think about.

GRANT G. SIMPSON.²

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY SEAL³

READERS of General Mahon's *The Tragedy of Kirk o' Field* (1930) will remember his argument that in the days and weeks following the murder of Darnley Mary was so prostrated that she was unable to attend to her usual correspondence and affairs of state, and that as late as 8 March Killigrew's audience was probably not with the Queen but with an impersonator.⁴ Darnley was murdered during the night of 9/10 February 1567, and here, in this volume of the *Register of the Privy Seal*, we find that Signatures were issued by the Queen

¹ *Ante*, xxxv, 89-109.

² Assistant Keeper, Scottish Record office, H.M. General Register House.

³ *The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, Vol. V, 1556-67. Edited by the late James Beveridge and Gordon Donaldson. Edinburgh: H.M. Stationery Office. 1957. Two Parts, Pp. xx, 714; 567. £15. 15s.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 169-70, 180-1. For Killigrew's audience of 8 March, see *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, ii, No. 479. *The Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 107) says he arrived at Holyrood on 19 February and was received the next day; but he himself states that he had no audience prior to that of 8 March. Mahon opines that the statement in the *Diurnal* (p. 106) that Mary returned to Holyrood from Seton on 19 February is 'certainly untrue' (p. 183 note 2); but this volume contains two Signatures at Edinburgh on 20 February (Nos. 3272, 3275) in between immediately preceding and immediately succeeding Signatures at Seton.

every day (and often several each day) from 11 February to 11 March with the exception of 16, 19, 26, and 27 February, and 7 and 10 March.¹ Since we have no knowledge of the use at this time of a stamp, or cashet, for the royal signature, it would appear that the thesis so ingeniously advanced by General Mahon must fall to the ground. Indeed, the only change to be noted in the *Register* following the death of the King is that 'oure soveranis lord and lady' (No. 3228), or 'thair majesteis' (No. 3232), or 'rex et regina' (No. 3236) become, on and after 11 February 1567, 'oure soverane lady' (3243), 'hir majesty' (3245), and 'regina' (3247).

It may be asked whether the date in the *Register* can be accepted as the date on which the Signature was issued.² The evidence yielded by Nos. 3228 to 3247 would appear to be conclusive; it is reinforced by an entry under 6 December 1560 of a Signature issued at Orleans (No. 808) which runs, not in the name of the King and Queen,³ but in the name of the Queen alone—and Francis had died on the preceding day. The *places* at which Signatures are registered as having been issued (and which Hay Fleming used for his *Itinerary*⁴) raise a more difficult question. Sometimes, when we have two Signatures bearing the same date but different places, the places are sufficiently close to each other for the Queen to have passed from the one to the other on the same day—as, for example, St. Andrews and Falkland (Nos. 1289-1294) or even St. Andrews and Edinburgh (Nos. 1267, 1268; 1304, 1305). But this was not always possible, and it is clear that when the Queen was moving quickly from place to place a warrant might be prepared in one place on one day and receive her signature at another place on the following day. Only thus can we explain three Signatures all dated 17 September 1565 but stated to have been given at Perth, Dunfermline and Holyrood respectively (Nos. 2314-2316), or a Signature given at Perth on 19 March 1564, one at Edinburgh on the same day, and a third again at Perth on 21 March (Nos. 1640, 1641, 1645). Or again, while the *Despences de la Maison Royale* show the Queen at Dunnottar on 26 August 1562, a Signature of that date was given at Glamis (No. 1106). Mary was undoubtedly a fine horsewoman, but such riding was impossible on sixteenth-century roads, and it may be that at times of fast movement the *place* assigned to the Signature is that of the preceding day.⁵

But these are the *minutiae* of diplomatic. Here are revealed all

¹ 16 February was a Sunday, but throughout the record Signatures were commonly issued on Sundays as on weekdays.

² Unfortunately, the Signatures, the original warrants bearing the sovereign's signature, are not extant for this period.

³ Cf. 'Suprema domina nostra regina cum autoritate et consensu domini sui regis . . .' of 4 October 1560, granting the office of customar of Edinburgh to James Curle (No. 807).

⁴ *Mary Queen of Scots*, 515-43.

⁵ Again, although the Queen was at Stirling on 20 November 1562 (No. 1154) on her way south from Aberdeen and the overthrow of Huntly, what are

Mary's movements in her brief tempestuous reign—even her stay at Wemyss on 17 February 1565 (No. 1928) when she unluckily met the tall lad Darnley,¹ and her ride to Hermitage where she issued a Signature on 16 October 1566 (No. 3095).² Her last four Signatures were from Loch Leven on 30 June and 20–22 July 1567.³ Here, too, can be found all the major and most of the minor characters whose names occur in any history of her reign. Here are the gifts of escheats following crime⁴ or forfeiture: and here also significant rehabilitations—notably the Gordons and their supporters, Moray and his associates, and those involved in the band that led to the murder of Riccio (in one entry (No. 2769) said to have been done 'in thair majesteis secrete chalmer in thair presence'; and in another entry (No. 2801) strangely said to have been 'committit upoun the sevint day of Marche'). Likewise, in addition to respites and remissions for crimes,⁵ precepts of legitimation, letters of protection and naturalisation, letters of safe-conduct, escheats for failing to appear

we to make of a signet warrant registered 'Apud Abirdene' on 22 November followed immediately by another signet warrant registered 'Apud Edinburgh' on 23 November (Nos. 1155, 1156). This seems to run counter to Maitland Thomson's analysis of the dates borne by writs through the 'Order of Chancery' (*Public Records of Scotland*, 64–65), and we must rely upon the students of Chancery procedure to give us the answer.

¹ *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, ii, Nos. 147, 148.

² Though Lord Scrope gives the date as 15 October (ibid., viii, No. 139), as also does the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 101).

³ She was imprisoned there on 17 June, and induced, or compelled, to abdicate on 24 July.

⁴ There are many escheats for slaughter (see the next following note); and it is noticeable that seldom are the escheats given to the widow and children—though occasional cases occur (Nos. 910, 911), and in one case the widow pays a composition of £20 (No. 1041). One letter grants to a widow the escheated goods of her husband who had been executed following a judgment gained by 'perciall meanis and wayis of his evilwillaris' in a justice court at Glasgow (No. 2574). There are also many escheats for 'falset and fenyeit letteris'—in one instance by the chaplain of St. Ninian's altar in the cathedral church of Brechin (No. 350). It is also evident that escheats were frequently 'sold' (for a composition) or given away (gratis) in advance of judgment (Nos. 73, 247, et al.). Some 'sales' of escheats and unlaws seem to indicate that some difficulty in collection was anticipated, and that the crown preferred the certainty of the fixed sum paid by way of composition to the doubtful receipt of a larger sum to be collected by the sheriff or other royal officer—how otherwise are we to explain a composition of 500 merks paid by the sons of William Innes of that ilk for 'the sowmes, panis and unlaws' incurred by their father in a justice court at Aberdeen, and said to amount 'in the hailt to the sowme of nyntene hundreth markis money of this realme'? (No. 1344).

⁵ Usually for slaughter, of which no less than 272 cases occur (to say nothing of the many more that for various reasons would not be recorded). A respite to a 'fidlar' for the slaughter of a 'sangstare' (No. 2321) stirs the imagination. More important, however, we find a remission for a slaughter committed 'ex precogitata feloniam' (No. 624), and one for a slaughter committed twenty-four years earlier (No. 1125). A respite (for nineteen years) is given for a slaughter committed thirty years earlier (No. 1820); and a respite that had been given

at the host and licences to 'bide at hame' (and the various hostings for the 'Chase-about-Raid' and for the support of the Queen following the murder of Riccio are here clearly revealed), there are all the innumerable gifts that were within the patronage of the crown—the escheats of bastards¹ and those unfortunates who had committed suicide, the feudal casualties of non-entry, marriage, ward and relief, pensions from the crown revenues and so forth. And, as has been so aptly observed, it is important to note 'who gets what'.²

This particularly applies to the many gifts of benefices, the fruits of benefices, temporalities, pensions from church livings,³ and even 'monks' portions' that were made by Mary during the period 1561 to 1567. Already, prior to 1560, the church was being 'milked' by the crown⁴; but nothing in this *Register* is more revealing than Mary's extraordinary disposal of the vast wealth of the Roman Church and the way in which she exploited the abolition of the papal authority in Scotland.

To that question Dr Donaldson devotes the greater part of his brief editorial introduction. There, in a careful and devastating analysis we are shown how the Queen, 'assuming papal and more than papal powers' took into her own hands the disposal of all benefices, great and small, and all ecclesiastical property. Not only did Mary, within three weeks of her return, grant the abbey of Balmerino to John Hay, with power to uplift all its revenues, teinds as well as temporality, 'als frelie . . . as the said Maister Johnne were providit . . . in the courte of Rome' (No. 845), but in 1562, we find her ordaining the 'nominatioun, promotioun and dispositioun' of Adam Erskine to Cambuskenneth (No. 1066) and Edward Maxwell to Dundrennan (No. 1101). Admittedly there is still the

for nineteen years is renewed for a further nineteen years (No. 1053). In several cases the remission or respite records that assythement as shown by 'letters of slains' has been made prior to the issue of the remission or respite—as would have to be the case (Nos. 222, 1984, 2349).

¹ Very occasionally the escheated goods are listed; in one case they comprised 'ane almerie of fir, ane chier, ane single compter, ane fedder bed with ane bouster, ane irne chimnay, ane quart stope, ane pynt stop of tyn' (No. 472).

² Was Mary, for example, following a definite policy in the many escheats that were given 'gratis' to archers of her guard?

³ And here is the pension of five hundred pounds a year from the revenues of Crossraguel granted to the ungrateful George Buchanan (No. 1783).

⁴ The act of 1543 calmly appropriating to the Comptroller the balance of the revenues of the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose and Holyrood and of the priories of St. Andrews and Coldingham after the king's [natural] sons had been maintained therefrom according to their estate (*A.P.S.*, ii, 424) was possibly the first direct appropriation by the crown. In the present volume, however, we can see what was happening when the Queen Regent granted an annual pension of five hundred merks to William, Lord Livingston, to be paid by the Treasurer 'ay and quhill hir grace provide ane of the saidis lordis freindis quhome he plesis to name of ane benefice of the yeirlye avale of the sowme of five hundreth markis' (No. 443).

clause 'as and he were providit be provisioun hade thairto in the courte of Rome theirupoun'; but even that 'apologetical declaration' soon tends to disappear, and in 1567 John Carswell is confirmed in the bishopric of the Isles despite any papal bulls to the contrary (No. 3373). Moreover, the evidence of this volume shows only too clearly that laymen were frequently provided to both greater and lesser benefices, and that there was full justification for the complaint of Knox's continuator that 'the patrimony of the Kirk, Bishoprics, Abbeys and such other Benefices were disposed by the Queen to courtiers, dancers and flatterers'—'always very unfit'.¹ So, for example, Michael Balfour enjoyed all the fruits of Melrose, Spens of Condy those of Coldingham, Alexander Seton those of Pluscarden, James Drummond those of Inchaffray, and Allan Stewart those of Crossraguel, while Francis de Busso, the master of the Queen's Household, with a promise of a yearly pension of £600 from 'the fruitis of quhatsumevir bishoprik, abbacie, prelatie or uther benefice quhilk sal happin to waik or cum in hir hienes handis and be at hir grace dispositioun', had meantime to be content with £400 from the fruits of the bishopric of Ross (No. 1918). In two instances, (Coupar Angus and Whithorn), the real grantee—the earl of Atholl in the one case, and Lord Fleming in the other—received the gift with a blank space in which to insert the name of his nominee, and in the case of Coupar Angus a precept was sent, with the Signature, to the Keeper of the Privy Seal instructing him to 'pas lettiris under oure said prive seile upoun the signatoure of the gift and dispositioun of the abbacie of Cowpar nochtwithstanding that the personis name to quhame it is disponit be nocht expremit in the said signature' (No. 2284 and *note*, No. 2356, and Introduction, p. vii). At the other end of the scale, we find a pension of two hundred merks from the revenues of the bishopric of Dunblane, and then three monks' portions of the Abbey of Lindores, granted to Eme de Saunt Jean the Queen's quarter-master (Nos. 1937, 2265)²; more interestingly, in 1557 (renewed in 1562) we find a monk's portion of Melrose given to Patrick Hardy, surgeon, of Jedburgh, to be appointed to remain 'upoun the Bordouris for help and cureing of all thame that sal happin to be hurte in defence theirow, and specialie in tyme of weir' (Nos. 220, 1007).

In the earlier period, 1556 to 1561, references to the reformation-rebellion and the war between the Queen Regent and the Army of the Congregation are surprisingly few. The 'rebellaris contrare oure soveranis autorite' are referred to once or twice; there are two allusions to the siege of Leith (Nos. 779, 3043); and two letters-patent of 28 July 1561, issued by Mary from Meru, near Beauvais, commission 'Captain [Robert] Anstruther' to receive from the

¹ Knox's *History* (ed. Dickinson), ii, 185.

² He has escaped the Index of Offices.

'Sieur de Darlaboy'¹ the castle and munitions of Dunbar and from the 'Capitaine Lussaignet' the fort and munitions of Inchkeith (Nos. 825, 826).² In relation to dates and places, it is interesting to see that although the Queen Regent entered the castle of Edinburgh on 1 April 1560, a Signature is still dated 'At Edinburgh, 21 April', though from 28 April onwards the place is uniformly given as 'At the Castell of Edinburgh' or 'Apud Castrum Edinburgi'. Signatures at Stirling on 2 June 1559 and at Perth on 8 June 1559 are difficult to reconcile with Knox's account³; but the charge, made by the Congregation, that the Regent had 'thrust in' a provost of Jedburgh 'against all order of election'⁴ is here fully proved (No. 728).

For all aspects of the history of the period something new is to be found in these pages. Some five or six hundred precepts for land-charters (many of them charters of confirmation) here recorded have no final entries in the *Register of the Great Seal*. Possibly there was a growing practice of not entering in the Great Seal register charters that confirmed alienations: in one instance, in July 1562, we even read, 'Insuper regina concessit quod dicta confirmatio tanti roboris esset sicuti eadem sub magno sigillo data fuisset' (No. 1080). In the case of the charter granting the office of Chancellor to James, Earl of Morton, the 'check' of the seals was reversed: the Privy Seal was appended *after* the Great Seal, because the Chancellor by virtue of his office was also the keeper of the Great Seal (Nos. 1710, 1796), and thus, exceptionally, the Chancellor's charter of office bore two Seals (the Great Seal and the Privy Seal) hanging on their tags side by side. Again in relation to landholdings, it is well known that the heirs of those slain at Pinkie were granted remission of the feudal casualties of ward, relief and marriage: and one administrative method of implementing that concession appears to have been to issue letters under the Privy Seal granting the feudal casualties to the heir, *gratis* (Nos. 786, 796).⁵

The student of economic and social history will find important references to taxations—a tax of £48,000 (No. 687), and one of

¹ This would be Corbeyran de Sarlabous (see *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse*, Scot. Hist. Soc., 66 note). For *Darlaboy* we should probably read *Sarlaboy*.

² Thus showing that there was a lapse of more than twelve months before the Treaty of Edinburgh could be finally implemented.

³ *History*, i, 179-83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 252. A later entry (No. 1257) refers to the office of provost of the burgh of Inverkeithing as being held *heritably* by the Henrysons of Fordell.

⁵ In one case, however, the heir paid a composition of £60 (No. 1147). Quite frequently in normal successions the feudal casualties are likewise compounded for a fixed sum paid by the heir, thereby 'short-circuiting' the sheriff's responde (No. 969—where £2,000 was paid for the casualties of the barony of Kellie). On the other hand, the feudal casualties could be gifted by the crown or granted away in return for a composition (No. 1029—where £4,000 was paid) thereby easing the problem of collection.

£60,000 (Nos. 248, 750); he will find references to a 'Deray Croft et Smyddie Croft' in Aberdeenshire (No. 2000),¹ to 'head dykes' and 'rynnan riggis', and he will note that three and a half acres of land contain 'quatuordecim sulcos terre vocatos riggis' (an unusual use of *sulcus*, and suggesting an equation of *rigg* and *rood*—No. 371), that twenty-four cows with their 'followers' are called 'ane bow of ky' (No. 785), and that multures may be called 'lie schafspeet' (No. 2592). The student of Highland history will find a reference to burning, harrying and slaughter in Mull, Tiree and Coll by the men of Skye (No. 1160), and to 'proditoria intercommunicatio' with the Queen's rebels 'vulgo nuncupatis the Clan Gregouris' (No. 2670).

For the student of legal history, there are references to Mary's 'lauchfull and perfite aige of xii yeiris compleit' (No. 474), which reminds us of the argument of the French official advisers in 1552,² and which is to be compared with 'nostram legitimam et perfectam viginti unius annorum etatem completam' (No. 1542); to a justice court held at the 'Standing Stanis of Straithbogy' (No. 1449)³; to an erection of a barony with a right 'pendendi, decolandi, justificandi iustitiamque super offensores infra dictam baroniam secundum iura regni nostri exercendi et exequendi sicuti aliquis alter baro infra regnum nostrum' (No. 3039); to the appointment of the commissaries of Edinburgh (No. 1633); and to the restoration to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, 'primat and legat of Scotland', of 'all and sindrie his jurisdictionis' (No. 3145).

The bibliographer will find licences to Robert Lekprevik to print the acts of parliament and the 'psalmis of David in Scottis metir' (Nos. 1987, 2615), together with the discharge of his licence and a new licence given to Edward Henryson (No. 2869),⁴ and, of very considerable interest, the licence given in August 1559⁵ to 'Maister Williame Nudrye' recounting that since he has 'set furth for the better instructioun of young chylderin in the art of grammar to be taucht in Scolis divers volumes following, that is to say, *Short Introductioun Elementar*, degestit into sevin breve taiblis for the commodius expeditioun of thame that are desirous to reid and write the Scottish toun; *Orthoepia Trilinguis Compendiarie Latine Lingue*, note, calographiae, index, tables, manuall, brevelie introducing the union of

¹ Cf. 'Et sine aliqua custuma danda fabrisdera vel tosachdera' (*Antiq. Aberdeen and Banff*, iv, p. 453), and 'officium de le deray . . . cum tofto crofta et aliis pertinenciis officii' (*Reg. Arbroath, Nigrum*, No. 676).

² Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, i, 274-8.

³ Cf. the courts held 'apud lie Standing Stanis de Huntlie' (Littlejohn, *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*, i, 153); 'apud stantes lapides de Rane en le Garuiach' (*Reg. Aberdeen*, i, p. 80); and 'apud stantes lapides de Ester Kyngucy' (*Reg. Moray*, No. 159).

⁴ This latter licence refers to the 'lordis commissaries speciallie depute' to the 'visiting, sichtiging and correcting' of the laws (see *A.P.S.*, i, 29).

⁵ But with the marginal note, *Non Sigillatur*.

the partis of orisoun in Greik and Latene speichis with thair accidētis; *Meditationes in Grammaticam Dispaüterianam*; *Meditationes in Publium Memographum et Sapientium Dicta*; *Trilinguis Literature Syntaxis*; *Trilinguis Grammaticæ Questiones*; *Ane Instructioun for Bairnis* to be lernit in Scotis and Latene; *Ane Regiment for Educatioun of Young Gentillmen* in literature et virtuous exercitioun; *Ane A B C for Scottis Men* to reid the Frenche toung, with an exhortatioun to the noblis of Scotland to favour their ald freindis; *The Geneologie of Ingliche Britonis*; *Quotidiani Sermonis Formulae*, e Publii Terentii Afri comediis decerptae', that therefore he and his factors alone may print those works for the next ten years (No. 658).

The editing of these two large parts maintains the high standard we have come to expect from the Scottish Record Office. Occasionally, the use of *ut supra* (to obviate the repetition of 'words of style') leaves something to be desired and may be a little irritating to the reader¹; and here and there an annotation may be questioned.² Finally, the Scottish Record Office itself is to be congratulated upon the publication of Volume V of this important Register within five years of the appearance of Volume IV.

W. CROFT DICKINSON.³

SCOTS IN AMERICA⁴

It is appropriate that a wandering Scot should write of the important eighteenth-century Scottish migration to North America. Dr I. C. C. Graham seems to qualify admirably for this task. Born in Lerwick; at school in Edinburgh; a 'First' at London University; a doctorate from the University of Illinois—he would seem to have that combination of the academic and the adventurous which is necessary for success in exploring one of the most notoriously unsurveyed areas of the Atlantic migration. Indeed, in spite of a few disappointing features, his book charts a course for which all students of Scottish and American history will be grateful.

In a succinct but most readable manner, he tells the story of the

¹ For example, the gift of the escheated goods of a man who had committed suicide 'throw the cutting of his awine thrott' (No. 445) refers us to No. 165, which refers us to No. 164, which refers us to No. 85—to which we should have been referred in the first instance.

² For example, 'Reddendo annuatim . . . unum leporarium' (No. 799) can hardly mean the [impossible] annual render of one hare-warren (i, 183, note). Surely *unum leporarium* here means 'one greyhound'.

³ Fraser Professor of Ancient (Scottish) History and Palaeography in the University of Edinburgh.

⁴ *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783*. By Ian Charles Cargill Graham. Pp. x, 213. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, for the American Historical Association. 1957. 36s.

real Scottish migration to America between 1707 and 1783: the migration not of the Scotch-Irish (Ulster Scots), whose revolutionary mark on America has been taken so often to represent the total Scottish contribution, but of the Scots from the Lowlands, the Highlands and the Islands. For this distinction, one is indebted to Dr Graham. It shows that historians in America are beginning to escape at last from one of the most insidious confusions of their craft (the identification of Scot with Scotch-Irish) and it opens the way to a genuine estimate of Scottish influences on the formative period of United States history. These influences now begin to appear in a different way from the traditional Caledonian Society approach to Scottish-American history. Dr Graham's picture of the Lowland and Highland migration emphasises its conservative features: the communal migration of the Highlanders with their tacksman leaders intent on establishing the old way of life in the New World; the Lowlander, emigrating individually rather than communally, with his eye on the commercial opportunities which the Union of 1707 had opened to Scots in the colonies, his support of the established channels of British-American trade, and his frequent desire to return to the mother-country when he had made his fortune. Such men were not the inevitable revolutionaries and pioneering frontiersmen of the traditional Scottish-American histories. It was rather the Scotch-Irish who went to the farthest frontier and preached sedition in their Presbyterian churches. Chapter VII of Dr Graham's book is particularly valuable here: it presents a stimulating picture of American opposition, especially in Virginia, to the Scot as trader and loyalist during the years which led to the Revolution. Elsewhere, Dr Graham modifies the traditional view of Scottish eighteenth-century migration to America by showing that it was only between 1763 and 1775 that anything like a 'mass migration' took place. Yet, despite the relatively small scale of this eighteenth-century Scottish migration, it was at this time that Scotland made its most lasting and distinctive mark on America. In the nineteenth century, 'the Scots immigrants, in spite of their greater numbers, were lost in the general ferment of mass movement to the New World and the rapid growth of the United States' (p. 182).

In addition to the valuable perspectives which Dr Graham's book affords, his work often shows how colonial American records may be used to throw light on domestic Scottish developments; for example, in his support for the late Miss Margaret Adams's 'tacksman thesis' on eighteenth-century Highland migration (pp. 60-61). His bibliography, too, should commend itself to all serious students of Scottish history.

Yet it is precisely his bibliography which points to some of the more disappointing features of Dr Graham's study. It reveals that his work is based on printed rather than manuscript records. This is not

necessarily a drawback in a work which synthesises and interprets edited sources and secondary materials. But neither his bibliography nor his main text give much indication that there is still a substantial area in his field which awaits investigation through the examination of written sources which are known to exist and of manuscript material which there is reason to suppose may be discovered eventually. Furthermore, gaps in Dr Graham's bibliography reveal some weaknesses in his approach. He has no mention of J. F. Jameson's 'Notes from the Archives of Scotland concerning America' (*Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1930 i, pp. 97-122) which indicates some of the sources in the Register House and draws attention (p. 100) to a National Library of Scotland manuscript which deserves notice. This is the letter-book of Charles Strachan, trader at Mobile, 1763-70, who returned home to the family estate at Kinnaber after his grandfather's death had taken away the necessity of his finding his fortune in America. The omission of Norman MacDonald's *Canada, 1763-1841* (London, 1939), which has some useful bibliographical guides, illustrates that Dr Graham's approach to the Canadian side of his subject is much less thorough than his American investigations. The fact that Professor Henry Hamilton's *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Oxford, 1932) is not mentioned demonstrates that Dr Graham's examination of emigration is largely in terms of the Agrarian rather than the Industrial Revolution. He does not follow up the kind of clue which Professor Hamilton offers: for example, the migration of unemployed linen-workers in the early 70's (p. 70). Nor does he notice such a work as Charles W. Dunn's *Highland Settler* (Toronto, 1953). This would have provided additional material on Gaelic in colonial America to which Dr Graham devotes less than a page in space (pp. 2, 108-9): for example, Dunn's note (p. 27) of the first Gaelic song from America (North Carolina, 1770) which includes a characteristic note of loyalty—'We're ruined since we left King George.' Other books which deserve a mention in Dr Graham's bibliography include: Archer B. Hulbert, *Soil. Its Influence on the History of the United States. With Special Reference to Migration* (New Haven, 1930); Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936); D. F. MacDonald, *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850* (Glasgow, 1937). Moreover, it is unfortunate that there is no mention of the special issue on Scotland and America of *The William and Mary Quarterly*, April, 1954; Dr Graham's book was, presumably, in the press when this issue was produced.

Dr Graham does not explore very satisfactorily the possibility of a second-generation Scottish immigrant attitude in America, which would account for some of the Scots who threw in their lot with the Revolution. His references (on pp. 173 and 177-80) to such Scots suggest the possibility; but the suggestion is left tantalisingly un-

explored. Other points on which one would have liked comment include: the Scottish indentured servant (particularly that colourful and characteristic figure, Peter Williamson, Edinburgh's 'Indian Pete'); greater examination of the migration of intellectuals (Witherspoon is not enough); the migration of Scots to America *via* the West Indies (for example, the forebears of Alexander Hamilton).

The most unsatisfactory part of the book is the appendix on the numbers of emigrants. Dr Graham's figures do not seem unreasonable but he gives no detailed guide to his evidence. He merely notes that it is 'too long and involved for inclusion here' (p. 188). Yet when one turns to Dr Graham's doctoral thesis,¹ a similar statement occurs: so, presumably, the evidence for Dr Graham's emigrant statistics is not available. Because this is such a complicated and neglected subject, one would beg him either to publish this evidence or to put it in duplicated form in some of the larger American and British libraries. He would render a most valuable service to all students of Scottish-American history if he would do this.

In spite of these criticisms, Dr Graham's book is the best study to date of Scottish migration to colonial America. No student of Scottish or American history can afford to neglect it. The general reader, too, will find much food for thought in it, as this remark (p. 9), of Dr Graham's indicates:

In spite of the lamentations of Scottish patriots for nearly two centuries, emigration and economic progress were . . . complementary phenomena.

GEORGE SHEPPERSON.²

ROBERT FERGUSON³

EDINBURGH in the eighteenth century was a man's town. No doubt there were redoubtable ladies, as Cockburn and Henry Mackenzie have told us, but the market-place and the causey, the law-courts and the taverns were the meeting-places of men, and the literature of the place, whether in the popular press or in poetry, reflects the robustness and intellectual vigour of a city where men were accustomed to argue and discuss. Robert Fergusson's short twenty-four years of life, from 1750 to 1774, cover that period between Ramsay and Burns when the ferment of ideas was working vigorously in Edinburgh, and the best of his Scots poems give a vivid picture of the convivial, light-hearted, essentially masculine life of his native city.

¹ University of Illinois, 1955, *Scottish Emigration to North America*. (Microfilm copy in Edinburgh University Library.)

² Lecturer in Imperial and American History in the University of Edinburgh.

³ *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*. Edited by Matthew P. McDiarmid. Vol. I, Introduction; Vol. II, Text, Appendices, Notes, Glossary and Indices. Edinburgh: The Scottish Text Society. 1954, 1956.

What a pleasure it is to re-read these poems in the new Scottish Text Society edition! There is, for instance, the warm, kindly energy of

Auld Reikie! thou'rt the canty hole,
A bield for mony caldrife soul,
Wha snugly at thine ingle loll,
Baith warm and couth;
While round they gar the bicker roll
To weet their mouth.

And there is the charming humour that seizes on the Highland accents of the warriors of the City Guard

Come, hafe a care (the captain cries),
On guns your bagnets thrav;
Now mind your manual exercise,
An' marsh down raw by raw.

or the cries of the Buchan bodies at Leith Races

Gueed speldings, fa will buy.

This is the kind of light verse that was applauded in the social clubs like the Cape Club, of which Fergusson was a member: it is, indeed, the kind of topical skit that is popular in at least one Edinburgh club to this day. But Fergusson's has lasted longer than most light verse, not only because he has described in memorable lines the city he knew, but also because of his high spirits, the racy vigour of his Scots vocabulary, and his attractive use of the traditional Scots verse forms. He has not quite the qualities of greatness that are to be found in Burns, Scott, Henryson, and Dunbar, but he is in the first flight of the minor Scots poets. What he might have become we can only guess.

It should be said straight away that Mr McDiarmid has done his job well and has provided for the first time a really satisfactory study and text. A. B. Grosart, who edited the poems of Fergusson when he was a student at Edinburgh University in 1851, and who wrote the life of Fergusson in 1898 after a lifetime of literary work, while deserving praise for rescuing material that might have been lost, must also be blamed for many textual errors and many speculations about the poet's life. Mr McDiarmid is always generous in his references to Grosart, but Grosart's inaccuracies must have tried him as they have irritated others. Mr McDiarmid has finally cleared up the poet's Aberdeenshire origins, disposing of the story invented by Grosart that Fergusson's paternal grandfather had been minister of Crathie. Using the information provided by the poet's friend Thomas Sommers, and details gathered by Gleig and Peterkin, he makes a convincing story of the poet's life. Nevertheless, a small

correction should still be made to the reference to Fergusson's attendance at the High School of Edinburgh: Mr McDiarmid mentions that in 1757 Fergusson was sent 'not to the High School as might have been expected but to a private establishment'; but here Robert Fergusson actually followed the usual custom in going for a short period to an English school to learn reading before proceeding to the rudiments of Latin in the gytes' class at the High School. It is a pity we do not know more of his life at St. Andrews, for what we have seems to hint that he very much enjoyed it. Thereafter Mr McDiarmid describes Fergusson's break with his mother's wealthy brother in Aberdeenshire, and his subsequent employment in the Commissary Clerk's office in Edinburgh. He has accumulated a great deal of information about Fergusson's cronies of the Cape Club, that strange collection of artists, tradesmen, and antiquaries. Since Fergusson's poems for the most part appeared in Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*, Mr McDiarmid has sensibly made it his business to know that periodical thoroughly, and in the course of this has turned up some new and interesting material. There is, for instance, the poem 'A Character', signed 'Philanthropus', which appears to be a description of Fergusson, possibly by his friend Houston Steuart Nicolson. He has discovered, too, a shadowy and somewhat literary love affair. He has found out a little more about that tantalising character Charles Lorimer, Collector of Customs, who was later to meet Burns. (The reference to Burns's meeting with Lorimer should be 1787, not 1778.) He agrees with Peterkin about the cause of the poet's last illness and the distressing events that led to his early death.

In the appendix Mr McDiarmid prints the documents which Grosart copied from manuscripts; it is a pity that the originals are missing, for there may well be details in them that Grosart might not have noticed. There is a very well balanced account of the tangled story of the Fergusson portraits. On the whole, Mr McDiarmid is right in thinking that the portrait in the 1782 edition, unflattering as it may appear, is the most likely to be a good likeness. Most of the subsequent portraits look like touched-up copies of the 1782 one, except that in Irving's 1800 edition which was based on a portrait of the poet's sister.

The second part of Vol. II consists of an essay on the poetry of Fergusson. Mr McDiarmid is less interested in Fergusson's use of the language than in his poetry, but he has some pertinent things to say about the antiquarian movement in eighteenth-century Scotland, the vogue for pastorals, and the influence of Horatian satire. The section dealing with Fergusson's use of the various stanzas, Standard Habbie, and the Christ's Kirk stanza, and his subtle variations on it, is excellent. The present writer would have welcomed a little more about Fergusson's love for the variety of Scots dialect, and the

mixture of Lothian, Fife, and Aberdeenshire words that is to be found in his poems. He reviews with some freshness the theme of Burns's indebtedness to his 'elder brother in the muse'. In a final section, Mr McDiarmid attempts what has not justly been done before, that is, to assess Fergusson's English poems. These have been underestimated; some of the passages quoted come as a surprise to one who has looked on Fergusson as primarily a poet in Scots.

Mr McDiarmid published his studies of the life and poetry of Fergusson before his text of the poems, and in this he may have been a little unfortunate. The text he has established in Vol. II is different in a number of cases from that he quoted in Vol. I. The little pamphlet by William Gillis containing some unpublished poems appeared after Mr McDiarmid's Vol. I, but he has managed to include reference to it in Vol. II. At last we have a correct text of Fergusson, and notes that are full, interesting, and relevant. There are, of course, little matters on which one could differ from the editor. Are 'Findrum speldings' from Findhorn in Moray or Findon in Kincardineshire? The present writer votes for Findon, and so does the new Scottish Dictionary. Should we not call the Perthshire villages Pitlochry and Luncarty, rather than Pitlochrie and Luncarty? A minor bibliographical error is made in connection with the presentation copies of the 1773 edition; there are now records of nine such copies. But, generally, these volumes are full of matters interesting to the student of Edinburgh, of Scotland, and of poetry in the eighteenth century.

ALEXANDER LAW¹

SHORT NOTICES

THE HIGHLAND ECONOMY, 1750-1850. By Malcolm Gray. Pp. viii, 280. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1957. 25s.

The crofting life of the north and west of Scotland has in recent years attracted much attention from agriculturalists and economists, and a new Crofters Commission is at present attempting to revitalise an economy that for a century has seemed on the verge of collapse. The lone shieling of the misty island has been responsible for the production of almost as many Government blue books as folk songs, and the road to the isles is as likely to conjure up today a picture of freight charges as the sight of the blue Coolins. Of the many works recently published, the two outstanding studies, Adam Collier's *Crofting Problem* and Fraser Darling's *West Highland Survey*, are concerned mainly with the last half-century; although each takes a

¹ H.M. Inspector of Schools. Member of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society.

backward glance, the historical background is merely sketched in. Malcolm Gray, in this full-scale survey of the Highland economy in the century after the Rising of 'Forty-Five, fills a gap which has existed for long in the study of Scottish economic history, and he is to be congratulated both on his choice of subject and the treatment he accords it.

The long neglect of this subject is difficult to explain, considering the great agitation and controversy that raged round it in the 1880's when the Crofters Act at last gave the crofters the security they desired. The neglect cannot be ascribed to lack of source material. In addition to the two Statistical Accounts and the county 'General Views' of agriculture, there are several descriptions of the area from tourists and innumerable Government reports, that of the Napier Commission being a veritable Domesday Book of the Highlands and Islands. Mr Gray has made full use not only of these but also of manuscript sources that have provided him with a wealth of material—the Forfeited Estates Papers and certain Highland family records, in particular the Breadalbane Collection and the Seaforth Papers. As a result he has been able to present a comprehensive and detailed account of the development of the Highland economy in the century, 1750-1850.

Mr Gray's conception of the Highlands is one that includes the Hebrides but not Orkney and Shetland, although it may be said that there were as close economic affinities between the Outer Hebrides and Shetland as between either of them and Argyll or Perthshire. As it is, he has limited himself to a consideration of what is or was roughly the Gaelic-speaking zone. His preliminary description of the old order that still prevailed after the collapse of the 'Forty-Five is followed by an account of the various agrarian tendencies in the period up to the end of the Napoleonic Wars—the end of runrig and its replacement by the crofting system, the growth of the population, the coming of the Blackface and the Cheviot sheep, the 'improvements' effected by the introduction of new crops (turnips, clover, but especially potatoes). Another section is devoted to the expansion of the economy during this period, 1750-1815, by the development of the fishing and kelp industries and the rise in money income. The second half of the book covers the period between 1815 and 1850, when the whole economy was subjected to various strains—the collapse of the kelp industry in the Hebrides, the uncertainties of the fishing industry, the crumbling of self-sufficiency (through the improvements in transport and the intrusion of commercialism from the south of Scotland), and, not least, the effect of a long spell of deflation. Mr Gray concludes his survey with an account of 'a society in travail' in 1850, when in 'the archaic fringe' of the north and west landlords went bankrupt, crofters faced famine and destitution, and evictions and emigration seemed the only solution.

The author's treatment is throughout that of a balanced and objective survey, based as closely as possible on the statistical material available, and he reinforces his conclusions by publishing in an appendix various tables showing, e.g., the value of money and victual rents, the size of holdings, the numbers and ratios of cattle and sheep to population, and many others. It seems a pity that Mr Gray did not carry his story a decade further to include the mid-Victorian clearances and the later 'Crofters' War'; but perhaps he already envisages a sequel. As for the period he has covered, it might have eased his task, difficult enough because of the contrasting regions within the so-called 'Highland' zone, had he attempted some further sub-division, particularly of the first section from 1750 to 1815.

Mr Gray naturally eschews the sentimentalist and romantic approach that has so bedevilled our knowledge of the Highlands; but, unlike other economists whose researches have taken them north of the Highland Line, he does not make the mistake of considering the Highland pastoral economy in terms of the arable agriculture of the Lowlands. To compare the tacksmen of the eighteenth century with the 'improvers' of the south is a fruitless task: 'farming was only part of a complex aristocratic way of life', which he describes as 'materially unimpressive yet appealing and dignified'. Many misconceptions still rife among Lowlanders he dispels, we hope for good. The *cas chrom* was not a useless implement, to be despised as fit only for the barbarous north: it was the only method for cultivating patches of soil surrounded by rocks and, properly handled, produced heavier yields than the Lowland plough of that time. (In this connection, Mr Gray might have referred to the accounts of the astonishing yields of barley in some parts of the Western Isles, not only in the time of the Fife Adventurers, who had been impressed by travellers' tales of the 'incredible fertility of corn', but also in the early nineteenth century according to Walker, who writes in *The Economic History of the Hebrides* of yields as usually ten to fifteen times and even twenty to twenty-five times in their 'richest sandy grounds, when cultivated with the spade, plentifully supplied with sea-ware, and sown very thin'.) The *feannagan* or 'lazybeds' revealed not the laziness but the diligence of the crofters, who by sowing potatoes in the long beds and adding sea-ware thereby reclaimed what had hitherto been regarded as wasteland. But not even Mr Gray's survey, so commendably factual and detailed, can include reference to all the topics relevant to this subject. Readers who do not know the Highlands and Islands at first hand would have been helped to appreciate the communal approach of the crofter to the problems of his township, had the author included the description of agrarian customs left us by Alexander Carmichael. In his reference to whisky-distilling, Mr Gray passes over the illicit distilling and

'smuggling' which in regions bordering the Lowlands at one time provided a lucrative occupation for many who could hardly have otherwise subsisted on their dwindling acreage of arable and pasture and their diminished stocks of cattle and sheep. A unique feature of the Hebridean economy to which Mr Gray might also have given a few lines was the whale-hunting, mentioned as early as Martin Martin and as late as Osgood MacKenzie, who wrote of almost a hundred whales being rounded up on the beach near Stornoway. These omissions apart, however, Mr Gray's book covers the field so well that it will be found indispensable to anyone who hopes to study the Highlands or the Scottish economy of the period 1750-1850.

I. M. M. MACPHAIL.

THE ROBERTSONS: Clan Donnachaidh of Atholl. By Ian Moncreiffe of Easter Moncreiffe, Kintyre Pursuivant.

THE STEWARTS: The Highland Branches of a Royal Name. By John Stewart of Ardvoirlich.

Pp. 32 each. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston. 1954. 5s. each.

These groups of Highlanders lived cheek by jowl in Atholl and marched with each other in Mar. As in so many of this series, pedigrees and bibliographies are lacking, but the maps and arms are well done.

Mr Moncreiffe, as a Perthshire laird, is at home in the Robertson country, from Rannoch on the west to Angus on the east. The chief family was of Struan and the second of Lude, separated by Blair Castle the seat of the Earls of Atholl. The difficulties of compression are met by using smaller type for the last quarter, which besides describing the Atholl country in some detail gives an account of clan life most of which is of general application.

The eponymus was stout Duncan of Atholl, who supported the Bruce and was chartered by him. From him the clan is named, naturally including the McConnachie. Many Reids also wore the kenspeckle red tartan. It was from his grandson grizzled Robert c. 1450, that the modern surname was derived. The clan, like the Stewarts, were out with Montrose and in the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-Five, and Struan returned from Prestonpans in Sir John Cope's coach. The estates were recovered in 1784, but the last of them had been sold by 1926. Jamaica is the home of their representative, and readers would like to have been told that he is unique among those claiming chiefship in that he is not of pure European descent.

That Robertson is now the sixth commonest name in Scotland is very remarkable. Their territory was small and they must have been prolific and avoided the perils of migration. They were namely as soldiers and for their music, but most sources regard the harp now

in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities as having been brought to Lude by a daughter of the Lamont chief.

This booklet is another example of Kintyre's talent for racy presentation of the results of prolonged research.

The highland branches of the royal race were all sib, but, unlike the Robertsons, so scattered that Ardvairlich has had a hard task, though worthily he has performed it. Their green hunting tartan is worn by the Royal Scots regiment, and their red royal pattern is alas now dispensed to all and sundry, and (substituting blue for red) is sold as the Anderson tartan. As that of 'the race of Kings and tinkers' the name Stewart was often assumed by strangers. They are not of Scottish Celtic origin, and did not colonise the Highlands till the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The sixth hereditary Steward of Scotland was on the right side at Bannockburn, and married Robert I's daughter, their son becoming King in 1371. Before then the main stock had given off the (Stewart) Earls of Atholl and the Stewarts of Appin in Lorn. Thereafter illegitimate descendants included the Stewarts of Balquhider and Bute, and Alexander Earl of Buchan, who burnt Elgin Cathedral and was the unscrupulous and fertile ancestor of many Stewarts in Mar and Atholl.

Appin was retained through centuries of struggle with the Campbells, and the colours its sons carried at Culloden have happily been preserved in Edinburgh Castle. In 1752 one of them was convicted, after an infamous trial, as being art and part in the murder of the Government factor, Campbell of Glenure, 'the Red Fox'. Stewarts held the Earldom of Atholl from the fourteenth century till 1627 when it was transferred to Murray of Tullibardine, the heir female and ancestor of the present Duke of Atholl. Turbulence was a characteristic of Athollmen, and a healthy dislike of the Campbells, twenty-one of whom were said to have fallen to the claymore of Stewart of Baluan at Inverlochy in 1645. Their General Stewart of Garth's *Sketches of the Highlanders* (1826) is a classic description of their life in the late eighteenth century. Ardvairlich himself now represents the Stewarts of Balquhider who, like their neighbours the McGregors, were noted cattle reivers. The Stewarts in Mar were never an effective combination.

HECTOR McKECHNIE.

PROTOCOL BOOK OF MARK CARRUTHERS, 1531-1561. Edited by R. C. Reid. Pp. 76. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society. 1956.

In its volumes for 1913-14 and 1914-15 the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society published abstracts from the protocol books of Herbert Anderson, edited by Sir Philip Hamilton-Grierson with the assistance of Mr G. W. Shirley. Those two protocol books covered the period 1541-50 and 1566-9—substantially the same period as the one under review—but

they were given rather more summarised treatment than the careful and full transcriptions which Mr Reid has given us, and they covered a rather more limited area (from Dee to Annan) than the protocol book of Mark Carruthers which covers practically the whole extent of the three south-west Scottish counties.

As was to be expected, this newly-published protocol book, with its 198 entries, adds very considerably to the information yielded by the two earlier publications and to that given in the Burgh Records which survive from 1506 onwards with a single break, but of which publication is still a cherished dream.

Local families are very fully represented; practically every entry yields something for the genealogist; and most of the entries very obligingly give the relationship of the subject of the transaction to others of his or her family. Still more is the book valuable in augmenting our picture of the town of Dumfries; many properties in or near the burgh are carefully delimited and thus a number of blanks in the plan of sixteenth-century Dumfries and its neighbourhood—on which Mr Reid and the late Mr Shirley have already done so much work—can be filled.

Many of the documents deal with the churches and religious houses of the area—Tongland, Lincluden, Holywood, the Church of the Grey Friars in Dumfries, St. Michael's, the Parish Church of Dumfries, and rural parish churches. We see the churchmen feuing their lands—probably with an eye to the coming Reformation; we see donations of vestments, we find references to chalices, to masses for the dead, and to places in choirs; we read of the possessions of the churches and we hear something of those who held church offices; and, especially, we are given a picture of the working of the church organisation in south-west Scotland in the thirty years preceding the Reformation.

Trade does not feature very largely. We find a son of Thomas Welche vicar of Tynron bound apprentice to a tanner in 'le cordinar craft'; and one very interesting item is a contract for the building of a ship at Dumfries by a Whithorn man for 10s. Scots per ton—which is also a reminder of the active export trade in fine white woollens which the town was driving at this time.

Finally this book is a mine for the student of place-names and of the rural economy of its time. Details are several times given of the way in which a farm property is to be divided and worked; evidence of the general state of violence in the Borderlands is more than once afforded; and an arrangement anent the teind sheaves of the vicarage of Terreglis is made between Cuthbert Johnstoune in Lokarby and John Thomsons in Halmyre 'for the redemyng of the said John furth of the captiuite of our auld inimies of Ingland and sauffyng the said Johnis gudis and geris in tyme of weir fra rewaris bayth of Scottis and Inglis'. In 1539 there is reference to royal letters

obtained against various Annandale Johnstones and Moffats for the bodily injury of Robert Graham of Thornenhuk and Robert or Adam his son—the same Robert having been absolved in 1531 from sentence of excommunication. It is easy to see why in the 1580's the town of Dumfries refused admission to Annandale men, saying they 'ar all men of weir and brokkyn men'.

An Appendix to the Introduction, composed of extracts from the Burgh Records of 1561-4, gives a glimpse of Sir Mark Carruthers as a man of many activities and a pluralist—holding the chaplainry of St. Nicolas in the parish church of Dumfries, the chaplainry of St. Christopher and a prebend of Lincluden, besides being Parson of Mouswald (he was a natural son of Sir Symon Carruthers of Mouswald).

Mr Reid is to be congratulated on this scholarly volume which is the first large-scale piece of research on the history of Dumfries and Dumfriesshire to be published since the death of G. W. Shirley in 1939.

A. E. TRUCKELL.

THE FERGUSSONS. By Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bart. Pp. 32. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston & G. W. Bacon. 1956. 5s.

THE CLAN MORRISON. By Alick Morrison. Pp. 31. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston & G. W. Bacon. 1956. 5s.

The Scots have for long been noted for their skill in family history and genealogy. In some of the remoter places the subject still forms part of the folk tradition, and there are those who are regarded as authorities on local family history. The modern urban environment, in which successive generations seldom have one fixed abode, scarcely favours the preservation of this, or indeed any other type of oral tradition. Yet we cannot assume that this trait of Scottish life and character is entirely a thing of the past. In the first of these two booklets Sir James Fergusson refers to 'the present enormous interest in Scottish genealogy' (p. 23), and he is well placed to pronounce on the matter. Every effort to meet this interest by the provision of authentic information is certainly to be commended.

It must be confessed that in publications which commence with a frontispiece consisting of the 'clan tartan', as these booklets do, it seems to have been more difficult than elsewhere to keep the record straight, in view of some assumptions by that emblem implied. In this connection downright statements such as the following by Sir James Fergusson are welcome: 'It is improbable that the Fergussons had any single common origin' (p. 8). Later on, however, we are informed that the head of the Kilkerran family came to be regarded as chief of the whole 'name' of Fergusson, and certain incidents are

cited which are interpreted as 'recognition' on the part of various individuals and families, in addition to armorial recognition in the form of undifferentiated arms and supporters. These transactions are supposed to have brought about, or to have been indicative of, a new-found sense of unity among all bearing the name of Fergusson (pp. 23-24).

The process here described is a rationalising one, imposed from without, and of academic interest only, in view of the contemporary decay of the clan as a vital social institution. It is one of those fictions so characteristic of what might be termed modern clansmanship, the origin of which Sir James Fergusson traces in large measure to the writings of Sir Walter Scott—something that has proved strong and enduring, he says, though 'not of wholly legitimate historical descent' (p. 22). Some would go further, however, and hold that it has thriven on ignorance of history among people not so knowledgeable in these matters as were their forebears.

As far as the modern surname of Gaelic derivation is concerned, the fact is that, taken by itself, it is of little value as a pointer to remote kinship or ancestry. To give but one reason, many family names which were once historically correct in Gaelic have not survived the hazards inherent in the process of anglicisation. The surnames borne by thousands of people of Highland descent today were first used, as far as their particular families are concerned, by the factor's clerk in the rent roll or the session clerk in the parochial register, and these officials were capable of the most egregious ambiguities and errors when dealing with unlettered monoglot Gaelic speakers who were not in a position to say how their name should appear in the record. Anyone who cares to investigate the history of such surnames in particular cases is quite likely to end up with a most bewildering assortment of aliases and mistaken identities.

The Morrisons provide us with a case in point. In the first place, it is an English surname, borrowed for convenience by certain families of Gaelic lineage—one of those surnames, in fact, that cause endless confusion in the minds of those who have not been warned about undistributed middle terms. Then again, even within the bounds of Gaeldom it came to be used as the equivalent of different Gaelic surnames. It can be shown, for example, that in Mull there are Morrisons who are descended from the great bardic family of *O Muirgheasáin*, originally from Inishowen in Ireland; and a branch of the same family settled in Skye and also anglicised their name as Morrison. The Clan Morrison of Ness in Lewis, on the other hand, were in Gaelic *Clann Mhic Gille Mhoire*.¹ The cradle of this race appears to have been Harris and its adjacent islands, where the name is proportionately more numerous than in Lewis.

Here then we have an example of unconnected Gaelic surnames

¹ See, e.g., Sir Robert Gordon, *Earldom of Sutherland*, 272.

being represented by the same rather arbitrary English equivalent. But that is not all. Since there never was any agreement as to who was to be considered the eponymous ancestor, the same clan, and indeed the same individual, might at different times be identified by different surnames. Mr Alick Morrison refers (p. 25) to the bard of Pabbay in the Sound of Harris. This man is referred to by no less than three surnames—a remarkable instance, for he died as recently as 1882. In the book in which many of his compositions are to be found he is Neil Morrison¹; in evidence given before the Crofters Commission in 1883 he is called Neil Mackinnon²; and his neighbours often spoke of him as Neil MacVurich (*Niall Mac Mhuirich*), as do their descendants to this day. Strange as it may seem, all these surnames have historical justification. They correspond exactly to the names of the ancestors of the Morrison clan as given by John Morison nearly three centuries ago in his *Description of the Lewis*. He writes that the Morrisons are descended from 'Mores the sone of Kennanus whom the Irish historiance call Makurich.'³ In this statement the first name represents Gaelic *Gille Moire* (often anglicised Maurice), the second, as in Ireland, is doubtless a Latinised form of Gaelic *Cian* or rather its diminutive *Ciandán*, and the third would be written in the Gaelic orthography as *Mac Mhuirich* (earlier *Mac Muireadhaigh*). 'Mackinnon' is reasonable enough phonetically as an anglicised form of *Mac Ciandán*—but most misleading, in view of the fact that it is so well established as equivalent to Gaelic *Mac Fhionghuin*. It may be added that some families in Uig, Lewis, who first appear in the parochial register as Morrison, are Mackinnon today. Exponents of clansmanship would no doubt seek to enroll them under the banner of the Mackinnons of Skye and Mull, and, what is still worse, they themselves may have so far forgotten their true origin as to consent. Even in the Gaelic-speaking area there are now numerous instances of the erroneous English surname being translated back into Gaelic. The damage done, in a historical sense, by the practice of using anglicised forms of Gaelic names has been extensive, and, it is to be feared, is largely irreparable.

These observations, while critical of one important assumption that seems to be fostered, or at least not sufficiently controverted, by publications of this kind, in no way reflect upon the ability with which the authors of the booklets under review have carried out their assignments. Mr Morrison has perhaps had the harder task in view of the paucity of record evidence wherewith to control and evaluate traditions orally preserved; and it can be said that he has succeeded in placing some of these traditions in a more convincing perspective than heretofore. Both booklets, though limited in scope, are original

¹ Henderson, *Leabhar nan Gleann*, 43ff.

² *Crofters Commission—Evidence*, 859.

³ *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), ii, 214.

contributions to their subjects, and no mere summaries of what has already been published. Sir James Fergusson, it is true, acknowledges his indebtedness to the indispensable *Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson, Ferguson, and Fergus* (1895), but a glance through the foot-notes reveals how frequently he has gone direct to original sources, including the national records in his charge. Similarly, Mr Morrison has profited from having had access to the great collection of estate papers and other documents in the muniment room of Dunvegan Castle.

The booklets may be recommended as giving the most up-to-date account of their respective subjects, within the limits imposed by the plan of the series.

WILLIAM MATHESON.

JUDICIAL PROCESS UPON BRIEVES, 1219-1532; being the twenty-third Lecture on the David Murray Foundation in the University of Glasgow. By Hector McKechnie. Pp. 31. Glasgow: Jackson. 1956. 5s.

The reader of Mr McKechnie's lecture upon medieval brieves should prepare himself for its terse brevity by a preliminary reading of Lord Cooper's *Register of Brieves*, whose more expansive pages are a pioneer study of the legal writ in Scotland. Mr McKechnie is concerned to trace from the surviving records the earliest appearance of each procedural brieve in use and to indicate the significance of brieves in the developing judicial system of medieval Scotland. Working through collections manuscript and printed, he has laid under contribution charter, protocol book, rolment of court, and statute, with a thoroughness which should win the admiration of all his readers. I have had the privilege of reading the much fuller typescript upon which this lecture is based; in it Mr McKechnie traces not first but all appearances of brieves, and in his lecture he is accordingly able to assess the relative importance of each kind of brieve at any one period. He argues convincingly against Lord Cooper's view that the summons under the signet had completely ousted the brieve by the early sixteenth century, though admitting that the latter was then atrophied and in decline as a result of the act of 1491 forbidding 'innovation or eiking of new terms'. He faults Lord Cooper for supposing that it had been possible to bring an action by brieve before the council, but he places implicit trust in the very shaky dates ascribed to the Ayr and Bute registers by the late Lord President.

In a printed lecture the author is circumscribed by his medium, and it is arguable that Mr McKechnie could do no other than he has done with his subject. We might have preferred a more argumentative account of a shorter period, or of one class of brieve over a

longer period. We might have wished that space had been devoted to a single important problem, stated and solved, rather than to the catalogue into which Mr McKechnie at times descends. But we must take him as he is.

The second half shows particularly the cramping effects of the lecture-form in its failure to discuss the availability of procedure by bill of complaint and summons, for as the courts were willing to entertain actions raised by complaint, so *briefes* must have declined in popularity. There is no doubt that for many actions other than those grounded in fee and heritage, procedure by bill was available from the first half of the fourteenth century and perhaps earlier. For the period before 1286, however, it is doubtful if Mr McKechnie has made the best use of his sources, scanty as they are, for he has refused to look beyond the actual *briefes* or *inquests*, to consider the significance of other evidence.

He lists the first *briefe* of *perambulation* in 1219, without giving an opinion on the degree of its novelty at that date. This *briefe* was addressed to the Justiciar in almost all known cases, and may have been reserved to his hearing. The Scottish kings since the reign of Malcolm IV had had justices, whom we may assume to have been charged primarily with judicial business. It would seem likely that some of this business was remitted to them by a *briefe*, if only in its most rudimentary form. Many early charters show the donor, even when the king, *perambulating* the bounds of his gift and, as Lord Cooper pointed out, it would seem that the process of *perambulation* developed out of this practice. If witnesses to the bounds were necessary it was surely because there had to be those who could swear to them should they be disputed. There is a gap between the judicial *perambulation* of 1219, and the *perambulations* accompanying *infetment* found early in king William's reign. But the development of the justiciarship in that period surely entitles us to conclude that it is a gap in the record only and that the process of *perambulation* was known in the twelfth century.

'Royal letters . . . in 1233 were the precursors of the all-important *briefe de recto* by which alone could the title to heritage be determined . . .' Here again there is no opinion on the force at this time of the dictum that no man need answer for his inheritance without the king's writ. If the dictum held good, then the *briefe* initiating an action over right to lands must have been older than 1233, older even than the thirteenth century. In the later thirteenth century the question of right put to an *inquest* seems frequently to be tied to questions of fact; this might be a practice evolved as a means of putting all questions in a dispute to recognitors at a time when the question of right could lead only to the battle. Moreover an examination of the 'other instances' of the *briefe de recto* in 1259-62 cited by Mr McKechnie raises the gravest doubts whether the *briefe* of

right, as it is given in the Ayr manuscript and used in Aberdeen in 1317 (a version close to the English writ of right), was in use in Scotland before 1286. These early 'instances' are in no case an enquiry into which of two parties had the greater right to a tenement. Further the brieves of novel disseisin and mort d'ancestor seem to be used to settle the question of right as well as of possession, and so perhaps made the brieve of right unnecessary. It may accordingly be suggested that the grand assize was never introduced into Scotland, that in the twelfth century pursuer and defendant had only one option to the battle, namely to raise the question of right under guise of an action on a question of fact, such as a family relationship or the exact bounds of a tenement. This action would be referred to a jury of recognitors. Such a view seems to be in accord with the vestiges of thirteenth century processes.

The truth is that the historian of Scots Law can answer his questions only by tracing back from the known of the sixteenth century to the doubtful of the fourteenth the forms of action in use for questions of right, dispossession, debt, or any other action occurring with sufficient frequency. It simply does not do to work from the unknown to the doubtful. Until the cases of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been collected and studied in this way, the student of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must content himself with the *Regiam Majestatem* (in an edition not based on the manuscripts), the registers of brieves (one printed in full, one in brief summaries and at least one still unpublished), and the *Liber de Judiciis*, if he is fortunate enough to be near a library which possesses a manuscript of it.

ARCHD. A. M. DUNCAN.

GENEVA AND THE COMING OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE, 1555 TO 1563. By Robert M. Kingdon. Pp. viii, 162, (Volume XXII in the series: *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*) Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1956. 22 Swiss francs.

It is generally held that Protestant pastors, sent out by Geneva, played a considerable part in the intrigues and agitation which led up to the French wars of religion. In this interesting book Dr. Kingdon sets out to examine the activities of these Genevan-trained pastors, and to determine how far their activities were directed and co-ordinated by Calvin and the Genevan Company of Pastors. Was there a Genevan master-plan for the Calvinist conquest of France, and were the missionary pastors deliberately used in the furtherance of that plan?

In the first part of his book Dr Kingdon lists the 88 pastors sent to France by Geneva between 1555 and 1562, noting their social background, training, experience, and the areas to which they were assigned. In view of the strong penetration of Calvinism among the

French aristocracy, it is interesting to note that a high proportion of these missionary pastors were themselves converted French aristocrats.

To establish Genevan complicity in the rising tide of political intrigue and religious turmoil in France prior to 1562, he seeks to show that Geneva maintained a rigid control over these pastors and used them and their French congregations according to a preconcerted plan—much as Moscow now manipulates the Communist parties and agitators of other lands. At this point Dr Kingdon is not altogether convincing. One is left with the feeling that he overestimates Genevan control over the French Church and pastorate, and that Genevan activity in France was a more haphazard affair than he is willing to allow.

The second part of the book narrates, with a wealth of fascinating detail, the part played by the Genevan trained pastors, and by other Calvinist envoys, in French political intrigues up to 1562. It becomes clear that there were divided counsels in Geneva itself. Calvin had begun by stressing the importance of making converts among the French aristocracy. The striking success of this policy naturally alarmed the government; and the Calvinist nobility, fearing governmental action against them, embarked on a dangerous programme of intrigue and conspiracy. This in turn alarmed Calvin, who now made strenuous attempts to disentangle the French Church from the web of intrigue and conspiracy which the aristocratic Protestant political party was busily weaving.

There were others in Geneva less scrupulous, or less timid, than Calvin—notably his colleague Beza; and a good deal seems to have been done by Beza and others, behind Calvin's back, to encourage the conspiratorial programme in France. Dr Kingdon traces these intrigues with great skill, and has gleaned much significant information about them from unpublished State archives in Switzerland.

When it became evident that war in France was inevitable, Calvin abandoned his attempts to hold the Church aloof from the political Protestants, and urged the congregations to do their utmost to supply Condé with money, arms and men. As Dr Kingdon points out, Calvin had no objection to a 'just war' in defence of Calvinism if that should prove necessary. But he had been a lawyer before he was a pastor; and he had a lawyer's dislike of subversive activity—and particularly of subversive activity that seemed unlikely to be successful.

This brief review cannot describe the considerable amount of new and significant material that Dr Kingdon has unearthed and made available to students of this period of French history. For the research worker in this period, and for the ecclesiastical historian, this is an essential book, fully documented, and with a useful bibliography. The general reader, too, will be rewarded by new and interesting sidelights on the history and personalities of the time.

J. S. McEWEN.

A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FOR SCHOOLS. By I. M. M. MacPhail. Book I: From the earliest times to 1747. Pp. 256. Book II: From 1702 to the present day. Pp. 335. London: Edward Arnold. 1954 and 1956. Book I, 6s. 6d.; Book II, 9s.

Dr MacPhail has courageously tackled a task in which success has in the past eluded many historians, including, be it said, as sound a scholar as Hume Brown. To the enterprise he brings at least two outstanding virtues—adherence to the modern 'school' that attaches to social, cultural and economic life an importance equal to that of the 'traditional' studies in political, military and ecclesiastical affairs, and thorough familiarity with the language and literature of Celtic Scotland. Thus fortified, he makes use of a wide canvas: Book I ranges, in 20 chapters, from prehistoric and Roman times to the Union and the Jacobites, while Book II, fully one-third longer, gives 19 chapters to the course of events from the agrarian reforms to the second World War. His general success is not to be denied. We have here what is probably the fairest, the most vivid and the most comprehensive account of our national development ever offered to the school population.

It is hardly to be expected that Dr MacPhail could accomplish his feat without exposing his work to criticism in some particulars. Almost inevitably, errors creep in, some of them, no doubt, mere misprints. A rather large number of wrong dates call for future correction—Alexander II's death, given as 1248 (I, p. 58), the battle of Bauge in 1420 (p. 123), Mary Tudor's accession in 1555 (p. 150), Knox's death in 1573 (p. 158), the Toleration Act in 1710 (p. 230), the start of the Seven Years War in 1759 (II, p. 47), and the founding of King's College, Aberdeen, given as 1494 in one place (II, p. 255), though rightly as 1495 in another (I, p. 130). Numerical accuracy is not, indeed, among the best qualities of this work. The adverse votes in the final division of 1707 on the Union numbered 69, not 61 (I, p. 228), and the first reformed Parliament had 43 Scottish Whigs and 10 Tories, not 41 and 12 (II, p. 168), while the Burgh Reform Acts (not Act) of 1833 enfranchised the £10 householders, not 'all householders' (pp. 168-9). The extract from the text of the Arbroath letter of 1320 has *viri* for *vivi*, and *domino* for *dominio* (I, p. 117), while a few of the forms of names given will not do—'Henry Darnley' (p. 154), 'Lord Thomas Dundas' (II, p. 150) and 'the Earl Marischal Keith' (p. 262). Queen Mary at her accession was about one week old, not four weeks (I, p. 140); and neither Adam Cockburn nor anyone else could have been Lord Chief Justice of Scotland (II, p. 23).

Apart from textual errors and lesser lapses, a few major matters of omission and commission call for notice. Some reference to the critical battle of Daegsastan (603) is surely needed to clarify chapter

4, while an explanation, however brief, of 'udal tenure' (cryptically mentioned on pp. 62, 90 and 172) ought to be given. Again, the king's council and the great officers of state are entirely left out of the picture of 'Feudal Scotland' (chapter 8). Celtic and feudal Galloway was a lordship, not an earldom (pp. 90, 92). The alien term 'craft guild' would have struck a Scots burgher as a contradiction and a monstrosity (II, pp. 218-19). The section on nineteenth century law and order makes no mention of the general legislation establishing burgh and county police forces (pp. 205-9).

The transition from the mainly chronological order of Book I (interspersed, but not broken, by four 'descriptive' chapters) to the partly narrative, partly topical treatment of Book II may be held to be inherent in the nature of the modern period, with its ever-widening range of interests, but, with the story rambling backwards and forwards across the centuries, the broad lines of development from one generation to another are quite obscured. (This is a really tough problem of selection, and it is no very damaging criticism to say that the author has hardly solved it.) Finally, while the inclusion, after each chapter, of a set of 'exercises' may well have, in the school-room, the utilitarian value that Dr MacPhail obviously sees in them—and he is in a better position to know than is the present writer—the admission is forced from the candid reviewer that he found them drab, pedestrian and repellently 'elementary'. Surely such trimmings of an outworn didacticism would frighten off any intelligent 'secondary' pupil!

Despite these strictures, Dr MacPhail's merits far outweigh his faults. His view of Scotland's past is kindly and tolerant, just and truthful, and his values are those of the humane and enlightened patriot. His survey may be safely recommended as the best introduction to the subject now available for use in the schools up to, say, the third year. The illustrations really serve to illumine the text, the time-charts printed as end-papers are clear and valuable, and the 'source extracts' given at the close of each chapter are a commendable innovation which should help to teach the young scholar just what history is. And, despite its 'modern' outlook, the narrative preserves much of the old 'romance' by re-creating for the reader, in brief compass, the lives and characters of the great personages who shaped the nation's destinies.

GEORGE S. PRYDE

RUSKIN'S SCOTTISH HERITAGE. By Helen Gill Viljoen. Pp. viii, 284. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. \$3.75.

Few writers would be so bold as to devote the first volume of an important biographical work entirely to the pre-natal influences which may have helped to shape their subject, but this is what Mrs Helen Gill Viljoen has done. With vast industry, she has investigated

John Ruskin's ancestry on both sides. She has explored not merely the characters and behaviour of his forebears for several generations, but also the circumstances and social climates which in turn conditioned them, confident that from the mass of material unearthed it will be possible to explain much that has proved baffling in Ruskin's personality. Her case is that, in *Praeterita*, Ruskin romanced about his background, and that Collingwood and other biographers accepted what he said as fact; whereas she considers he was really hypersensitive about the 'vulgar' side of his origins, so that to accept what he said is to fail to understand him as a man.

Just how much of the material is significant is a wide question which will have to wait until Mrs Viljoen has produced the companion volumes. Judging the book as it stands, I should be inclined to say she has sifted the evidence with a mesh which has retained too much. Partly because of this, one can draw no clear conclusions, and for me the image of Ruskin which emerges from between the lines of *Praeterita* is little altered or added to by the book under review. It is true that in that masterpiece of his later years Ruskin does not dwell on certain aspects of his family's circumstances; but does he really suppress the trade connections? Do we want to know more about his Yarmouth grandfather, for example, than that he 'had something to do with the herring business', as Ruskin lightly puts it? Mrs Viljoen's facts, however, may fall into place when she comes to build up her portrait of the great man himself.

Meanwhile, how far is this portrayal of the Scottish background convincing? Inevitably, there are minor slips unlikely to have been made by a Scottish writer: repeated references to the *Royal High School* in the early nineteenth century; the street cry quoted as 'Galler sou'. These do not affect the main purpose of the book; but on the other hand the Scottish atmosphere which the author painstakingly constructs is definitely relevant to this purpose, and as the pages turn the impression grows that in some essentials this is not quite authentic. The point to which Mrs Viljoen constantly returns is that the Ruskin family's tradesman-status in a class-conscious Edinburgh, or the attempt to live it down, was eventually to have its effect on John Ruskin. From documents and books she has extracted a mass of evidence to prove the extremity of this class-consciousness: evidence ranging from Boswell's pride in his ancestry to Scott's awareness that his father had been 'a mere Writer to the Signet'. Anyone who knows Edinburgh knows that the W. S. is traditionally among that 'jurisprudential aristocracy' to which Lockhart referred in *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*. Anyone who knows Scotland knows that pride in gentle birth was of old a national *trait* which had in it little of the suburban snobbery which would suppress the fact that one's father was a tradesman. Too much emphasis can be laid on the street-fights between the boys of 'patrician' George Square and the

'blackguards' of Bristo. In what town in the kingdom did such fights not take place? And to assert that Raeburn 'could never mingle freely with the upper classes he portrayed' because he had been a 'jeweller's clerk' must shake the confidence of any reader who knows that one of Raeburn's earliest sitters was the woman he married, the rich young widow of a French count, and that he ended as Royal Limner for Scotland. If it comes to that, the younger sons of the Scots nobility were never averse to engaging in the trade; and since Mrs Viljoen implies the lowly status of jewellers—Raeburn was actually a goldsmith's apprentice, like some other great painters—she may be interested to learn that Lord Rollo in his younger days practised as a goldsmith in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. And, passing from the gentle to the genteel, confidence must be shaken still further by the claim that Ruskin's mother's 'purity of English accent' was due to living in an Edinburgh concerned with correctness of pronunciation, when we know that this correctness was, at most, an earnest effort to offset the broad vernacular which prevailed even upon the Bench!

Undoubtedly Ruskin owed much to his Scottish heritage, as Collingwood discerned: above all his moral outlook. Mrs Viljoen has, I am sure, overlooked no documentary source of information. But can documents alone ever supply all the evidence needed? Is a first-hand knowledge of those elusive and much-misinterpreted things, the Scots scene and character, not equally important?

IAN FINLAY.

GEORGE STRACHAN: MEMORIALS OF A WANDERING SCOTTISH SCHOLAR OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By G. L. Della Vida. Pp. viii, 110. Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club. 1956.

The name of George Strachan is not unknown to students of the seventeenth-century history of the Near East. At the same time his early life has been recorded by more than one historian of Scottish letters. But so far these two very different aspects of Strachan's career have scarcely been brought together, and it has fallen to Professor Levi Della Vida to produce what is likely to be the definitive biography for some time to come.

Professor Della Vida, as a distinguished orientalist, is of course primarily interested in the eastern part of Strachan's wanderings, but he has nevertheless devoted a due proportion of his book to the first forty years of Strachan's life, the bulk of which he spent as a wandering scholar and teacher in the colleges and universities of France and Italy. There is already a fair amount of material on this period, but Professor Della Vida has managed to find some more, notably in the manuscripts of the Vatican Library and the archives of the Society of

Jesus in Rome. The correspondence with Cardinal Barberini adds considerably to our knowledge of Strachan's activities as a propagandist and unofficial agent of the Holy See. But there are still major gaps. There is no further light on his service at the French Court and with the Duc de Guise, both briefly mentioned by Thomas Dempster; nor have we any key to the motives that led him to abandon Europe for the more exotic atmosphere of the East.

In some ways we are better informed about this second period of his life. The letters of his close friend Pietro Della Valle, the acrimonious correspondence in the archives of the East India Company, the references in the records of the Carmelite mission, and the collections of his manuscripts in the Vatican and Naples libraries, all help to piece together a portrait of an agreeable, restless character of wide learning and interests. The great mystery however is still unsolved. Did Strachan visit India after 1623? Did he ever return to Persia? Did he, as Pietro Della Valle believed, die some time before 1630, or was he still alive in 1634, when he apparently made a Latin translation of two Persian manuscripts now in the British Museum? Professor Della Vida visualises for him a 'remunerative and dignified employment . . . a home of his own and . . . a family', but confesses sadly that his imagination lacks the support of any evidence whatsoever.

Just how deep Strachan's knowledge of Arabic and Persian went it is still, in spite of Professor Della Vida's advocacy, hard to say. That it exceeded that of any other western scholar of the time is at least possible; few of his contemporaries can have had the advantage of spending two years in the service of an Arab desert prince, occupied, as Della Valle records, in constant discussion of Arabic literature and Islamic religion 'with the most learned men among the Arabs'. This was no idle claim, as is clear from the manuscripts he purchased during this period. Their range and judiciousness of selection is striking, and Professor Della Vida might also have pointed out that they seem to show (the year of purchase is known in most cases) a fairly systematic development of interests—from grammar and rhetoric through theology and Koranic sciences to belles-letters and poetry, with a final fling at astronomy, astrology and magic. At the same time it must be admitted that Strachan's own brief notes on their contents are not always accurate; Professor Della Vida points out for instance that he did not learn the meaning of the word *hadith* (tradition of the Prophet) until he had been five years in the East.

All but one of the surviving manuscripts in his collection are in Arabic; but his interest in Persian began at least as early as 1617 (he arrived in Constantinople in 1613), when he bought a copy of the *Golestan*, although he did not reach Persia itself until 1619. It is a pity that Professor Della Vida was unable to examine personally the one solid piece of evidence on Strachan's knowledge of oriental

languages, his interlinear Latin translation of the two British Museum Persian manuscripts.

The book is nicely produced, and the footnotes are abundant. Professor Della Vida is to be thanked for quoting the original texts of the Latin and other documents he translates; he himself was in difficulties as a result of other scholars' failure to do this. There are a few minor errors and misprints, but only one is irritating: frequent allusions are made to an article by Sir Henry Yule, but by an oversight the details of the reference are nowhere given.

L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON.

CASTLE HUNTLY, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND HISTORY. By Edward A. Urquhart. Pp. 28. Dundee: Abertay Historical Society. 1956. 3s. 3d.

The Abertay Historical Society is to be congratulated on the excellent series of publications which it is sponsoring. The first three dealt with comparatively modern subjects, but for the present valuable little work a medieval theme has been chosen; and we have now for the first time an adequate account of one of the most interesting Scottish fifteenth-century castles which has been hitherto strangely neglected.

Castle Huntly is of special importance because the date of the oldest part is accurately known, the licence to build it having been granted to the first Lord Gray by King James II in 1452.

The structure then built is a 'tower-house' and 'jamb' of the L-shaped design and massive proportions characteristic of the middle of the fifteenth century. It recalls the great tower built under contract of 1440 by the mason John of Kemlok for the first Lord Forbes at Druminnor in Aberdeenshire; and the very similar structure, apparently of the same date and from the same hand, which now forms the oldest masonry remnant at the other Huntly Castle in Strathbogie.

Mr Urquhart gives the results of a very thorough investigation of the structural history of the building—made all the more valuable by a good set of plans. One may, however, be permitted to conjecture that still more might be made of this investigation. It is, for example, clear that the entrance arrangements have been very considerably altered; and it is hard to believe that the mural chambers opening off the upper hall are all insertions made in the seventeenth century by the first Earl of Strathmore.

The historical account of the Castle and the devolution of the manor leave nothing to be desired. It is most satisfactory that so important an example of old Scottish secular architecture has at last found adequate treatment.

W. D. S.

INTERCEPTED POST: AUGUST TO DECEMBER 1745. Edited by Donald Nicholas. Pp. 160. London: The Bodley Head. 1956. 16s.

Mr Nicholas's enthusiasm for Scottish Jacobite studies is infectious, but this collection of letters from various, and sometimes unidentified, correspondents does not quite arouse the usual interest. To begin with, they are printed from a volume of eighteenth-century transcripts, even though the originals exist in the Byng Papers and have been perused by the editor. He informs us that the differences between the originals and the transcripts are slight, and implies that it was found more convenient to print the latter. Well and good—but should we not then have, in the appropriate places, an exact statement of the differences? In truth, throughout, Mr Nicholas seems to have worked in haste. The introductory notes serve little real function, and too often occasion is taken of a stray reference to a great name to turn the note into a compressed biography of the notable. The whole tone of the references is somewhat too partisan, and those who appear of the Whiggish persuasion are too readily dubbed 'unpleasant'. That Mr Nicholas also scanned his proofs too hastily appears most evidently on page 62, where we find the odd double barbarism of 'the Prussian Emperor Frederick'.

The letters themselves are interesting (it seems to be impossible to discover dull eighteenth-century epistles), but they add little to our knowledge. To be precise, they do open up to us something of the minds of a few of the people in Scotland who were caught up by the Rebellion, and above all they demonstrate the uncertainty of many and their perplexed grappling with hydra-headed rumour. From this general point of view these letters are both pleasant and instructive to read and justify their publication.

W. FERGUSON.

THE FETTERNEAR BANNER: A Scottish medieval religious banner. By Rev. David McRoberts. Pp. 32; 11 illustrations. Glasgow: John S. Burns and Sons. 1956. 1s. 6d.

This little book has an importance out of proportion to its size. It commands attention both because of its subject and its treatment. Indeed only a scholar with an intimate knowledge of the social and liturgical background of the period, together with a capacity for historical investigation and a gift of clear exposition, could have brought out the full significance of the Fetternear Banner.

Dr McRoberts shows that it was an ecclesiastical banner of the early sixteenth century, perhaps the only surviving specimen of its kind in Great Britain. He has given a faithful description of the embroidery, which illustrates 'the Image of Pity, or the figure of Our Lord, outraged yet compassionate, surrounded by the instruments which depict the various sufferings of his Passion and death'.

This was a favourite devotional subject throughout northern Europe in the late Middle Ages; and a detailed examination of the decorative pattern (particularly of the heraldic designs) of the Fetternear Banner indicates that it was intended for the use of the Fraternity of the Holy Blood of the Kirk of St. Giles in Edinburgh.

Father McRoberts thinks that it owes its preservation to the fact that it was never completed. It remained an unfinished fragment, lost to sight in private possession for three hundred years, but has now, through the generosity of its owners, been placed in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, where all who are interested in needlework or in medieval ecclesiastical ornaments may examine it at leisure.

A. I. D.

The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society continues to maintain a high standard in its *Transactions*. The latest volume (1955-56: Third Series, vol. xxxiv) contains a number of important and interesting contributions. Mr C. A. Ralegh Radford gives a final report and summary of the excavations carried out in 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1953 at Whithorn, at St. Ninian's Cave and at the Isle of Whithorn, in which he analyses the history of this remarkable site from the time of the small oratory which 'may well have been the burial place of St. Ninian' and above which, on the higher ground, was probably 'the great church', down to the building of 'a Parish church for the Presbyterian rite'. Professor I. A. Richmond and Dr J. K. St. Joseph give their findings after cutting two trial trenches through the two superimposed Roman forts at Dalswinton, revealed by air photography in 1949. They report that while the earlier fort was of a size suitable for a *cohors milliaria equitata*, the later and larger fort so closely resembled Stanwix (the known station of the milliary *ala Petriana*) in size, and Corbridge I (the earlier quarters of the *ala Petriana*) in its lay-out that it seems justifiable to conclude that the *ala Petriana*, the only *ala milliaria* in the province of Britain, must have been transferred from Corbridge to Dalswinton in the second period of the pre-Antonine occupation of Scotland. 'At Dalswinton the large and highly mobile striking-force which the *ala milliaria* represented, stood poised to repel a thrust down Nithsdale or to operate with effect far beyond the valley, in Kyle or Cunningham.' Mr R. C. Reid contributes a note on 'The Election of Parish Clerks'—a subject which, he justly remarks, 'has been overlooked largely in Scotland' and one which he has now largely illumined; and Mr Reid and Lt. Col. J. R. H. Greeves both write on the De Amundervilles and the Mandevilles—but, though both of them are mainly concerned with genealogy, strangely neither of them refers to the Roger de Mandeville, the 'competitor', who came forward with such a remarkable

family story in support of his claim to the crown. Among other good things in this volume we cannot omit mention of an informative and most interesting account of the 'Dry Stone Dykes of Upper Annandale' (by W. A. J. Prevost), complete with a glossary of 'technical terms'.
D.

The reputation of John Buchan's work on Montrose still suffers, somewhat unfairly, because of a famous review by David Hay Fleming (in *The British Weekly*, 12 February 1914), which concluded: 'Men of Mr Buchan's gifts and temperament should eschew historical writing and devote themselves to avowed fiction.' But the book which Hay Fleming reviewed was *The Marquis of Montrose* (1913), a comparatively slight work. In *Montrose* (1928) Buchan produced a book essentially new and much more substantial, in which he conscientiously rectified all the defects to which Hay Fleming had specifically drawn attention. It is this *Montrose* which has now been issued in The World's Classics series (Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.). It may cause surprise that the introduction comes from Professor Keith Feiling, who, although a distinguished Oxford scholar, is not an authority on Scottish history, and that the stamp of 'classic' is now given to a book of which the best he can say is that it is 'probably the most enduring of John Buchan's serious works'. However, it is fair to ask how many books in the whole range of recent Scottish historical writing can be deemed classics; and we can be duly grateful that a serviceable work on Scottish history has been made available in these times at a modest price.
G. D.

With the publication of his Second Volume (Pp. xii, 414. Oxford University Press. 1957. 25s.), covering volumes VII to X of the original work, Mr D. C. Somervell has now completed his 'Abridgement' of Professor Toynbee's *Study of History*. Again Mr Somervell has prepared his abridgement in full cooperation with Professor Toynbee who has read and approved prior to publication. It can therefore be taken as 'faithful and true' by those who are unable to tackle the fuller work or who wish more easily to grasp the main arguments. For those 'of weaker capacity' Mr Somervell has even gone one stage further—an 'Argument' at the end of this volume provides an epitome in thirty-nine pages of the whole ten-volume work.

